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A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF THE MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES OF INDIA.

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A

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES

OF INDIA:

TO WIT,

HINDI, PANJABI, SINDHI, GUJARATI, MARATHI,
ORIYA AND BANGALI.

BY

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VOL. II.

THE NOUN AND PRONOUN.

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PREFACE.

Two years and a half have elapsed since I sent home my First Volume. This Second Volume would have been ready sooner but for the constant interruptions to which I have been subjected. The pressure of official work has largely increased, and, at one time, when I was called on to take charge of the administration of the Province of Orissa, was so heavy as to compel me to lay aside all literary work for six months.

To this cause must also be ascribed much of the disjointed and unfinished appearance of some parts of the work, for which I must ask the reader's indulgence.

JOHN BEAMES.

CUTTACK, ORISSA, *April*, 1874.

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ERRATA.

Page 11, line 7, for *nadâ* read *nadá*, i.e. the mark on the final *a* is the accent, not the long vowel; and so in the six words which follow.

Page 25, line 21, for तुहीनाम read तुही नाम.

Page 26, line 14, for हिवं read हिंव.

Page 30, line 5, for मोंड read भांडें.

Page 39, line 6, for माम read मामू.

Page 53, line 10, for चंडना read छंडना.

Page 53, line 11, for चोडना read छोडना.

Page 58, line 27, for *jâjarû* read *jâgarû*.

Page 65, line 23, for घुजाना read घुलाना.

Page 70, line 8, for बिछामा read बिछाना.

Page 70, line 14, *dele* "a" after "with."

Page 70, line 19, for आमण read आमणी.

Page 78, line 9, for B. read Pr.

Page 81, line 3 from bottom, for *derivatives* read *desideratives*.

Page 83, line 1, for *gauṛâsâ* read *gaṇṛâsâ*.

Page 93, line 8, for क्षतालु read क्षपालु.

Page 95, line 20, for चठै read चढै.

Page 100, line 19, for *quarrel* read *quarrelsome*.

Page 113, line 18, for *it* read *them*.

Page 122, line 7, transfer the comma from after 'mute' to after 'consonant.'

Page 128, line 5, for लमतंगा read लमटंगा.

Page 128, line 5, for तंगा read टंग.

Page 128, line 20, for लांवतांग्या read लामटांग्या.

Page 128, line 20, for तांग read टांग.

Page 132, line 17, in "so-much-used" *dele* the first hyphen.

Page 141, line 3, for "fifty-three" read "fifty-five."
Page 150, line 1, for घोडं read घोडें.
Page 154, line 1, after 'except' insert M.
Page 161, line 17, for झडू read जडू.
Page 179, line 22, for *future* read *past*.
Page 201, line 7, for ईश्वराज read ईश्वराज.
Page 201, line 7, for फिरिङ्गी read फिरिङ्गी.
Page 201, line 4 from bottom, for *these* read *those*.
Page 202, line 23, for इडांओ read इंडांओ.
Page 212, line 11, for काली read कालि ॥
Page 219, line 8, for दृव्यान read द्रव्यान.
Page 254, line 3 from bottom, for साथ read हाथ.
Page 267, line 13, for दुह read दृह.
Page 269, line 6, for नही read गही.
Page 275, line 13, for युद् read युध.
Page 275, line 20, for जारी read जोरी.
Page 293, line 18, for *termination* read *combination*.
Page 293, line 3 from bottom, for सझार read मझार.
Page 295, line 23, for हत्तीं read हत्तींत्.
Page 297, line 22, for तीचे read पीचे.
Page 316, line 4, for महियें read गहियें.
Page 332, line 11, for *you* read *yore*.

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES

OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

FORMATION OF THE STEM.

CONTENTS.—§ 1. Structure of the Noun.—§ 2. Suffixes.—§ 3. Stems in *-A*.—§ 4. Adjectives Formed from *A*-stems.—§ 5. Exceptions.—§ 6. Stems in *-NA*, and *-ANA*.—§ 7. Stems in *-A* preceded by a Semivowel.—§ 8. Stems in *-MA*.—§ 9. The *KA*-suffix and its Ramifications.—§ 10. Stems in *-TRA*.—§ 11. Treatment of Feminine Stems in *-Á*.—§ 12. Group of Stems in the Palatal and Labial Short Vowels.—§ 13. The Long Vowels of those Organs.—§ 14. Stems in *R*.—§ 15. Dissyllabic and Consonantal Suffixes.—§ 16. Stems of Uncertain Origin or Partial Application.—§ 17. Secondary Stems.—Formation of Abstract Nouns.—§§ 18, 19.—The Same—Possessives and Attributives.—§§ 20-22. The Same.—§ 23. Stems with Double Suffixes.—§ 24. Formation of Diminutives.—§ 25. Compound Nouns.—§ 26. Numerals—Cardinals.—§ 27. Numerals—Ordinals.—§ 28. Other Numerals.

§ 1. Nouns are divided into two classes: those which name objects, and are called appellatives, or in the older phraseology *substantives*; and those which describe the qualities of objects, and are called attributives, or in the older phraseology *adjectives*. Both classes will be considered in this Chapter.

The noun as employed in Sanskrit contains three divisions—the root, the suffix, and the termination; the root and suffix taken together constitute the stem, the whole three combined form the perfect noun fitted for use in speaking or writing.

Thus *naras*, "a man," consists of three parts, *nar*+*a*+*s*, where *nar* is the root, *a* the suffix, *s* the termination; *nar* + *a* = *nara* is the stem.

The terminations vary with every relation or connexion of the noun, and their variations constitute what are called cases. In the modern languages the terminations of the Sanskrit noun no longer exist in their original form; in some of the seven languages no trace of them is perceptible in the singular, and only weakened and half-obliterated traces remain in the plural; in none of the languages are more than slight and doubtful indications of their presence still observable. The variations of case are expressed in the modern languages by particles placed after the stem, just as in modern European languages they are expressed by particles placed before the stem. The English declension, *fish, of fish, to fish*, stands in the same relation to the Gothic *fisks, fiskis, fiska;* and French *champ, de champ, à champ*, in the same relation to Latin *campus, campi, campo*; as Hindi *nar, nar kâ, nar ko*, does to Sanskrit *naras, narasya, narâya.*

The first point then to be considered is the formation of the stem, and in this inquiry our attention is entirely concentrated on the final syllable or suffix. When treating, in the First Book, of Phonetic Changes, I exhibited, as far as the materials at my command permitted, those alterations and corruptions which have operated to change the form of the root; and the next step is to discuss the processes by which the stem, consisting of the combination of root and suffix, has been built up in its manifold developments.

Sanskrit grammarians divide nominal stems into two classes. They do not admit the possibility of a noun being a primitive word, derived from nothing else, but hold that all the words in their language are derived from verbal roots (called *dhâtu*), by additions and changes of various kinds. The first class, therefore, consists of those nouns derived from the *dhâtu* directly:

these they call *kṛidanta;* the second, of those derived immediately from other nouns: these they name *taddhita.* I shall use for *kṛidanta* the term "primary stem"; for *taddhita*, "secondary stem."

§ 2. Derivation is effected by the addition to the *dhâtu*, or root, of certain syllables called *pratyaya*, or suffix. These suffixes in many cases not merely add a vowel or syllable to the root, but also effect some change in the root itself, either by lengthening the vowel, eliding a final consonant, or in some other way. In order to indicate the effect the suffix has on the root, the Indian grammarians have prefixed or added to each suffix certain letters, which serve as a sort of *memoria technica.* Thus पाक "cooking," would be described as पच् + घञ्, that is, derived from the root पच् "to cook" by the suffix घञ्; the effect of this suffix is principally to add a final अ to the root, but it also lengthens the root-vowel, and this effect is indicated by the letter ञ्; it moreover changes a final palatal into a guttural, and this is denoted by the घ. The number of pratyayas is very great, the grammarians having multiplied them without stint, in order to give expression to the large mass of minute distinctions with which they have encumbered their writings. As, however, we are not discussing Sanskrit grammar, but only the simpler grammar of its modern descendants, it will not be necessary to consider all these suffixes in detail. They may be conveniently thrown into groups according to the vowel or syllables which they actually add to the root, the technical letters being referred to only when the distinction which they mark is of importance in its bearing on the forms of the spoken languages. Among the kṛidantas or primary stems the Indian grammarians include participles and verbal forms of all kinds, as well as abstract nouns. It will, however, be more in accordance with the principles of linguistic science to reserve the consideration of participles and all verbal formations till the

chapters on the Verb are reached, and to discuss in this place merely those suffixes which form substantives and adjectives.

Suffixes are monosyllabic or dissyllabic. Out of the vast mass of suffixes mentioned by the Sanskrit grammarians, many may be dismissed as unconnected with the present subject, inasmuch as the stems formed by them were so formed before the rise of the modern languages, and the question of their construction is a matter not of modern, but of ancient, grammar. Our seven languages took over these words ready made, and, as far as we are concerned therefore, they may be regarded as primitive words. Only such suffixes will here be introduced as have left traces in the speech of the present times; and if it be necessary to speak of certain of them which are of purely Sanskrit use, it is merely because of their bearing on phonetic or structural processes of recent introduction.

§ 3. Stems in *-a*. The nouns of this class are of all three genders, and make in the nominative case of Skr., masc. *-as*, fem. *-â*, neut. *-am*. The *s* of the masc. nom., however, is not permanent; before a word beginning with a sonant letter, it, together with the *a* of the stem, changes into *o*. Inasmuch as the sonant letters in Sanskrit are more numerous than the surds, the form of the nominative case in *-o* was much more frequently heard than any other; and the vulgar, who are not careful of minute grammatical distinctions, appear even in the earliest times to have used the termination in *-o* to the exclusion of all others. Thus Vararuchi (v. 1) gives it as a general rule that *o* is substituted for *su* (= *as*), the technical name of the nom. sing. ending, in all words whose base ends in *a*, as *vachchho*, *vasaho*, *puriso*, for *vṛikshas*, *vṛishabhas*, *purushas*. He considers that the *a* of the suffix has been elided, though it is more probable that the whole termination *-as* changed into *-o* through the intermediate form *-ah*, the labial vowel owing its origin to the involuntary contraction of the

lips during the passing of the soft breathing indicated by the visarga. In Magadhi Prakrit the nom. is sometimes formed in *-e*, and in Apabhranśa in *-u*.

In more recent times two separate sets of stems developed themselves out of this *a*-stem. The first probably ended in *u* in all the languages down to about the fourteenth century; since then it has ended in *-a* in all but Sindhi, which still retains the termination in *-u*. In old Hindi and Marathi the nominative in *u* is distinctly traceable, and in the former is even lengthened to *û* at the end of a verse where the metre requires a long syllable. This is especially the case in Tulsi Das's Ramayan, a work which exhibits a wide range of popular forms and phrases. Thus we have शरीरू, बीरू, कपारू, प्रचारू, at the ends of rhyming lines for शरीर, बीर, in modern H. शरीर, बीर, *śarir*, *bîr*. The second ended in *o*, which in the broad pronunciation of old Hindi sounds *au*, though the form in *o* is often used by the earlier poets; and there is no distinction between the two: it is merely a matter of manuscripts, some using one, some the other form. This *o* softened subsequently still further into *â*, in all but G. and S., which still retain *o*.

Concerning the cause of the parallel existence of the two forms there has hitherto been much doubt. Dr. Trumpp considers it a mere matter of accident, and thinks the presence of one form or the other is due to habit and daily usage.[1] Dr. Hoernle, however, holds, and with justice, that this reasoning is insufficient, and would ascribe all words which exhibit the *â* = *o* termination to the forms of nouns with an added क, which are extremely common in Prakrit. To this opinion I in the main subscribe. I think myself fortunate in this second volume

[1] "Eine Regel scheint bei dieser Separation nicht vorgewaltet zu haben, wenigstens habe ich bis jetzt noch keine entdecken können, sondern der tagtägliche Gebrauch scheint sich für die eine oder andere Endung entschieden zu haben."—Zeitsch. d. D. M.G. vol. xvi. p. 131.

to have hints from other and better scholars than myself, which were wanting when the First Volume was written.

There is, however, one other possible way of accounting for the peculiarity. This is the influence of the accent.[1] It is vigorously denied by some that the Sanskrit accent has persisted until modern times; but it may be urged that the idea is a new one, not altogether without support in facts, nor in any way *à priori* impossible, and it is not quite fair to dismiss it contemptuously without due consideration.[2] The influence of the accent is naturally confined to words of the early Tadbhava class, namely to words which have come down uninterruptedly from those times when Sanskrit was spoken, and whose form depends on the ear, not on the eye. This is all that is claimed for it: it is not pretended that the Sanskrit accent has been preserved in words resuscitated from the written language by learned men, centuries after it had ceased to be spoken.

With these reservations, the reader is invited to examine the lists hereinafter given, given not in a spirit of dogmatism, but merely because I cannot satisfy myself in rejecting accentual influence in them, till I am met by something more convincing than sneers; though in the desire to arrive at the truth, which is the only object which these researches can possibly have for one in my position, I shall be ready to throw down my weapons and acknowledge myself beaten directly I feel myself fairly convinced.

In any case, whether the influence of the accent be admitted or rejected, the collection of words now given will be useful as

[1] See Vol. I. Ch. I. § 6, pp. 17 ff.

[2] Unfortunately little is known of the spoken accent in Skr. In the following pages, the rules laid down in Bopp's Vergleichendes Accentuationssystem have been my guide; but perhaps since that was written advances have been made by European writers. These, in my isolated position in the depths of an Indian province, I have no means of obtaining. I am, however, quite conscious of the unfavourable effect isolation has on this, and all other parts of my work, and only wish my critics would bear it in mind sometimes.

affording instances of the development of the *-a* suffix, whatever be thought of the cause of it. Those who hold that the termination *á=o* is due to the Prakrit (and at times also Sanskrit) suffix क must explain to us why this क, producing *á = o*, has been so capriciously employed, why, in fact, Skr. ओष्ठ "lip," should not have taken a क and become Pr. ओट्ठओ, H. ओंठा, just as much as, according to them, अण्ड "egg," took क and became अण्डक, अण्डओ, अण्डा. If, as is asserted, all nouns might and did take this क, why do not all nouns of this stem end in the moderns in *á = o*, why do some end in *a = u*?

(1). *Barytones.*—The Sanskrit words in the following list are all accented on the penultimate; they are all primary stems formed by the addition to the verbal root of one or other of the simple suffixes, such as अच्, अप्, घञ्, and the like: they are all therefore fair cases in point.

Skr. ओष्ठ "lip," Pr. ओट्ठ, H. ओंठ, P. होंठ, G. होट, ओठ, M. ओंठ, O. ओठ.

Skr. कर्ण "ear," Pr. कण्णो, H. कान, P. कन्न, G. M. B. O. कान, S. कनु.

Skr. काष्ठ "wood," H. काठ, and so in all, but S. काठु.

Skr. कक्ष "armpit," Pr. कक्खो, H. कांख, P. कच्छ, G. M. B. O. काख, S. ककु.

Skr. क्रोश् "kos," H. कोस, P. कोह, the rest कोस, S. कोड़.

Skr. क्लेश् "trouble," H. क्लेस, P. कळेस, M. किलेस, किलोस, S. किलेसु.

Skr. क्षण "moment," H. खन, छन, छिन, the rest खण, S. खिण (fem.).

Skr. गर्भ "womb," H. गरभ, गाभ, P. *id.* and गब्भ, M. G. गाभ, S. गभु, गरभु.

Skr. ग्राम "village," H. गांव, G. गाम, M. गांव, B. O. गां, S. गामु, गांउ.

Skr. जाल "net," H. जाल, so in all, but G. जाळु, जाळ, S. जाड़.

Skr. तान "tone," H. तान, so in all, G. ताण, S. तानु.

Skr. तैल "oil," H. तेल, so in all, S. तेलु.

Skr. दन्त "tooth," H. दांत, so in all, P. दंत, S. डंदु.

Skr. दिन "day," H. दिन, so in all, S. डिणु.

Skr. देश "country," H. देस, in the rest देश, S. डेसु.

Skr. पाश "noose," H. पास, फांस, G. and the rest पाश, P. पाह, S. फाही, फासी.

Skr. फाल "ploughshare," H. फाल, and so in all, but P. फऊ, S. फारू.

Skr. मार्ग "road," H. मग, मांग, in the rest माग, S. मागु.

Skr. लोक "world," H. लोग ("people"), in the rest लोक, S. लोकु, लोगु.

Skr. वंश "bamboo," H. बांस, बांश and so in all, S. बांसु.

Skr. वट "banian-tree," H. बड, so in all, M. O. वट, S. बडु.

Skr. विष "poison," H. विख, B. विष, M. G. *id.* and विख, P. विख, बिस, विह, S. विखु and विङ्.

Instances might be multiplied to a large extent, but the above will suffice to show that the rule holds good in a vast majority of instances, Sindhi having uniformly *u*, the other languages *a*, though Gujarati now and then retains *u*. This final short *a* is not pronounced at all in Hindi, Panjabi, Marathi, or Gujarati, and very slightly in Bengali and Oriya. We hear *jâl*, *tân*, *tel*, *dânt*, and so on, not *jâla*; words of this class may, for practical purposes, be regarded as ending in consonants, except in M. and G., where it is necessary, as will be shown hereafter, to bear in mind the existence of the final mute *a*, in order to effect the necessary changes of the base in the oblique cases of the singular.

(2). *Oxytones.*—The list which follows comprises, like that which precedes, none but primary stems formed by simple suffixes, as अच्, घञ् and the like; but the words which it contains are all accented on the last syllable, and accordingly it will be seen that they all end in the modern languages in *â* or *o*.

Skr. अण्ड "egg," H. अंडा, P. *id.*, B. आंडा, O. *id.*, S. आनो, M. and G. are exceptions, M. अंडें, G. इंडुं.

Skr. कीट "worm," H. कीडा, and so in all, G. and S. कीडो.

Skr. छुर "knife," H. छुरा, and so in all, G. and S. छुरो. (In all the fem. छुरी is more common.)

Skr. चेट "slave," H. चेडा, चेला, so in all, G. and S. चेलो.

Skr. चूर्ण "dust," H. चूरा ("powder"), so in all, G. and S. चूरो, M. and B. also चूर.

Skr. चूर्ण "dust," H. चूना ("lime"), P. *id.*, M. चुना, चूणा, B. O. चुना, B. also चुन, G. and S. चूनो, चूणो.

Skr. दीप "candle," H. दिपा, O. B. *id.*, P. दीआ, दिवा, M. दिवा, G. दीवो, S. ड़िओ.

Skr. ध्वज "flag," H. धजा, P. *id.*, G. धजो.

Skr. नाल "stream," H. नाला, and so in all, G. नाळो, and नाळुं, S. नारो.

Skr. फण "snake's hood," H. फणा, M. B. O. *id.*, G. फणो, S. फणि (fem.).

Skr. वत्स "young," H. बचा, बच्चा, and so in all, B. बाच्चा, G. बचो, S. बचो.

Skr. भल्ल "spear," H. भाला, P. M. O. *id.*, G. and S. भालो.

Skr. श्याल "brother-in-law," H. साला, P. M. साळा, B. O. शला, G. and S. सालो, G. also साळो.

Skr. स्कन्ध "shoulder," H. कांधा, P. कंधा, M. खांदा, O. B. कांधा, G. S. कांधो.

Skr. स्तम्भ "post," H. खंभा, P. B. O. *id.*

Skr. मूष "mouse," H. मूसा, P. B. *id.*, O. मूषा.

Skr. वर्ष "rain," H. बरसा, बरखा, O. बरषा, B. M. *id.*, G. वर्षो.

The Hindi in this, as in so many other instances, vindicates its right to be considered the leading language of the group, by the fidelity with which it adheres to rule. The other languages are less faithful to the long vowel representing the oxytone, than they are to the short vowel derived from the barytone stems. Marathi especially diverges in this respect, but the divergence is probably due, as will be seen hereafter, to its practice in modifying the final vowel of the stem in the oblique cases.

Bopp's rule[1] for stems formed by the addition of simple *a* is that they carry the accent on the root-syllable in most cases. He excepts, however, a class of abstract stems formed from roots in *i* and *î*, which allow the accent to sink down to the final syllable. They are as follows:

Skr. चि चय "destruction," H. छय, P. छै, S. छीओ, G. खे, M. खे. Not used in B. and O. except as Tatsama.

Skr. चि चय "heap." In compounds H. संचै, M. चय, संचय, etc.

Skr. जि जय "victory." In all जय or जै.

Skr. स्मि स्मय "smiling." Not in use.

Skr. हि हय "horse." हय and है in the old poets; often with an additional syllable हिंवर in Chand.

Skr. क्री क्रय "buying." In compounds H. विक्री (विक्रय), B. O. *id.*, P. विक्करी, S. विकिरो.

Skr. भी भय "fear," H. भय, B. O. *id.*, P. भै, S. भइ and भउ, M. G. भय.

Skr. ली लय "abode." In the compounds with आलय, as below.

Skr. देवालय "temple," H. देवल, P. देवाला, S. देविली, G. देवळ, M. देऊळ, O. *id.*, B. देवल.

Skr. श्वशुरालय "father-in-law's house," H. सुसराल, M. सासरें.

Skr. श्रि श्रय "refuge." In the compound आश्रय, H. आसरा, P. *id.*, M. आश्रा, B. O. *id.*, G. आसरो, S. आसर, आसिरो.

In all these words the inherent weakness of the य has led to the corruption of the two syllables of the Skr. into one in such words as *âśrâ*, *devâlâ*, while in others it has been practically softened into a diphthong in combination with the preceding consonant. It may also be conjectured that though the learned accentuated the last syllable of stems of this small class, the masses did not at any time observe this distinction, but treated

[1] Vergl. Accentuationssystem, § 115.

them as barytones, and the final vowel has therefore not been preserved.

There is also a rule of a somewhat intricate character, which declares that stems of this form, when simple appellatives, which, according to their original meaning, are nouns of agency, bear the accent on the last syllable. Under this head are such words as

nadâ, "river," or *the sounder* (root नद् "to sound").

plavâ, "ship," or *the swimmer* (root प्लु "to float").

chorâ, "thief," or *the stealer* (root चुर् "to steal").

karâ, "hand," or *the maker* (root कृ "to do").

maghâ, "cloud," or *the wetter* (root मिह् "mingere").

devâ, "god," or *the shiner* (root दिव् "to shine").

It is obvious, however, that nouns of this class may be formed to any extent by a little exercise of the imagination. Every noun in fact formed by the suffixes *ach*, *ghañ*, or *ap* and the like, which merely add a vowel to the root, might be classed as a *nomen agentis*, and expected to be an oxytone. There is no reason why *gárbha*, "womb," should not be considered as a noun of the agent, meaning *the container* (root ग्रह "to hold"), or *kárna*, "the ear," as *the piercer* (root कर्ण् "to pierce"), or *visha*, "poison," as *the pervader*, from its action in stealthily creeping into the blood (root विष् "to penetrate"); and as a matter of fact the grammarians do so regard them all. The rule appears to be too subtle for general practical use, and the following list of oxytones of this class, mostly formed with अच्, which is said specially to form agents, will show that in a majority of instances the modern languages have not regarded these words as oxytones.

Skr. कर "hand," H. कर, and so in all, S. करु.

Skr. नद् "river," H. नद, M. *id.*, perhaps S. नडो "tube," but also नड.

Skr. मेघ "cloud," H. मेघ, and so in all, S. मेघु.

Skr. चोर "thief," H. चोर, and so in all, S. चोरु.

Skr. देव "god," H. देव, देउ, so in all, S. डेउ and देउ. (In Muhammadan Sindh it means "a devil.")

Skr. दंश् "gadfly" (the biter), H. दंश्, दंख, and so in all, S. डंगु "the bite of an insect or reptile."

Skr. वर् "bridegroom," (he who chooses the wife), H. वर्, P. B. O. *id.*, M. G. वर, S. वरु.

§ 4. Under this rule is included a large number of adjectives which are oxytone in Sanskrit, and end with long *á* or *ó* in the moderns. It may, however, be observed, that the majority of adjectives from *a*-stems end in *á* or *ó* in the masculines, except in B. and O., where the habitual neglect of quantity has led to the final vowel being shortened. The rule therefore hardly covers all the examples, and is perhaps not meant to do so, as Bopp merely includes adjectives with the meaning of the present participle. We may suppose that the rule, once established for this class of adjectives, gradually extended itself to the others also, on account of the facility which the variety of terminations so obtained afforded for making the distinctions of gender. In those languages which pay little or no attention to gender, as the Bengali and Oṛiya, the distinction was not needed, and we hear in O. such phrases as *boṛō bhâi*, "eldest brother," and *boṛō bhauṇi*, "eldest sister."

Examples of adjectives—(*o*) indicates oxytone, (*b*) barytone adjectives:

Skr. अच्छ (*b*) "clear, good," H. अच्छा, P. *id.*, G. अछो, S. अछो ("white"), B. O. अछ.

Skr. अन्ध (*o*) "blind," H. अंधा, P. अन्हा, G. आंधळो, M. अंधळा, B. O. अन्ध, S. अंधो.

Skr. अर्ध (*b*) "half," H. आधा, P. अद्धा, G. आध, अरधो, S. अधु,[1] M. अर्धा, B. आधा, O. अधा, अधे.[1]

[1] Used as a substantive.

Skr. उच्च (*o*) "high," H. ऊंचा, P. उच्चा, S. ऊंचो, G. ऊंचो, M. उंच, B. O. *id.*

Skr. काल (*b*) "black," H. काला, P. M. काळा, G. काळो, B. काल, काला, O. कळा.

Skr. काण (*o*) "one-eyed," H. काना, P. M. काणा, G. S. काणो, B. काणा, O. काण.

Skr. गंभीर (*o*) "deep," H. गहिरा, गहरा, and so in all, O. गहिर. The Tatsama गंभीर is also in use in all.

Skr. गाढ (*o*) "intense,"[1] H. गाढा, P. *id.*, G. गाढो, M. B. O. गाढ.

Skr. गौर (*b*) "pale," H. गोरा, P. *id.*, S. G. गोरो, M. (dimin.) गोरटा, O. गोरा, B. गोर.

Skr. घन (*o*) "dense," H. घना, P. घणा, S. G. घणो (many, much), M. घण, O. B. घन.

Skr. कठिन (*o*) "hard," H. कठिन, O. B. *id.*, P. कठन, °ण, G. कठण, M. कठीण, O. B. कठिन, S. कटनु.

Skr. दक्षिण (*b*) "right" (hand), H. दहिना, O. डाहाण, B. डाइन.

Skr. बधिर (*o*) "deaf," H. बहरा, बहिरा, M. *id.*, G. बेहेरो, S. बोडो, B. बहेरा, O. बहिरा.

Skr. शुष्क (*o*) "dry," H. सूखा, P. सुक्का, G. सुको, M. सुका, S. सुको, O. सुखिला, B. शुका.

There are very many other instances. Hindi preserves the long vowel which naturally arises from oxytones, and lengthens the vowel in many cases in barytones; in a few Tatsamas like कठिन् the long vowel is not taken. The accent is thus virtually neglected, and in this respect Hindi is followed generally by P. S. and G. Marathi halts between two opinions, sometimes taking the short vowel, sometimes the long; the latter, however, appears to be the more common of the two, as might be expected in a gender-ridden language like this. More remarks about the adjectives will be found scattered amongst the various stems.

[1] Deep (colour), strong (infusion of a drug), thick (cloth), etc.

§ 5. The influence of the accent is only claimed for the early Tadbhava class, and it is natural therefore that there should be many instances in which it does not apply. Seeing that there are among the late Tadbhavas many which approach closely in point of antiquity to the latest of the early Tadbhavas, the line is hard to draw. We merely give examples therefore of these exceptions, and wish for explanation as to why, if the stems in *â-o* are due to the addition of क, that suffix has not been used here also. Many of the words now given appear, from their phonetic structure, to be early Tadbhavas, as for instance दूध, which exhibits the Prakrit process of assimilation from दुग्ध into दुद्धो, and the modern further elimination of the first element of the nexus and compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

(1). Of Sanskrit oxytones which take the short or barytone ending in the moderns, the following are some of the more prominent examples:

Skr. सिंह "lion," H. सिंघ, P. *id.*, the rest spell सिंह but pronounce *singh*, S. both सिंघो and ग्रींङ्.

Skr. ऋक्ष "bear," H. रोछ, G. *id.*, M. रीस, P. रिच्छ, S. रिछु, O. (rare) रिछ.

Skr. गृह "house," H. घर, and so in all, S. घरु, O.-H. गेह, M. *id.*

Skr. वर्ष "year," H. बरस, and so in all, but S. वर्ह्यु.

Skr. पर्ण "leaf," H. पान (betel), and so in all, S. पानु.

Skr. भाव "nature," H. भाव, भाओ, and so in all (भाउ).

Skr. दास "slave," H. दास, and so in all, S. दासु.

Skr. दुग्ध "milk," H. दूध, and so in all, S. ड़ोधि.

These words are all very common words in constant daily use, and as such should, according to the क theory, have taken that suffix in Prakrit, and consequently end in *â-o* in the moderns. Some of them have an alternative form in *â*, as पर्ण, which has पन्ना "a leaf;" वर्ष, which has बरसा and बरषा in

the sense of "rain;" the meanings of पान and बरस are secondary or restricted, as compared with पन्ना and बरसा, and they are perhaps late Tadbhavas in the former, but early Tadbhavas in the latter sense.

(2). Barytones in Sanskrit, but taking the long vowel in the moderns, are the following:

Skr. लोह "iron," H. लोहा, P. B. *id.*, but M. G. O. लोह (O. also लुहा), S. लोङ्.

Skr. सुवर्ण "gold," H. सोना, P. B. O. *id.*, but M. सोनें, G. S. सोनु.

I cannot find many undoubted examples of this class, and even those that do occur do not run through the whole seven languages, which seem as a general habit to be more faithful to the barytone accent, especially in substantives, than they are to the oxytone, or, if we accept the क theory, to be derived from words which did not take the क termination, more frequently than from those which did.

§ 6. Stems in *-na* and *-ana*. The former of these is in use only in a very small class of words, all of which, with one exception, are oxytone in Sanskrit. The words are—

	yajná	from *yaj*,	"to sacrifice."
	praśná	,, *prachh*,	"to ask."
	yatná	,, *yat*,	"to strive."
	viśná	,, *vichh*,	"to shine."
and fem.	*yâchñâ*	,, *yâch*,	"to ask."
	tṛishṇâ	,, *tṛish*,	"to thirst."

The exception is *swápna* from *shwap*, "to sleep," which, however, the grammarians derive by the suffix नङ्, while the others are formed by नङ्.

In the modern languages these words, many of which are much corrupted, take the under-mentioned forms:

Skr. यज्ञ "sacrifice," Old-H. अजन, अगग, अग्य, H. आग, P. अग, M. B. O. आग, S. अगु.

Skr. यत्न "effort," H. जतन, P. M. G. *id.*, S. जतनु.

Skr. प्रश्न, "question." Not in use, except as a rare Tatsama.

Skr. विभ्र "shining, light," H. बिहान ("dawn"), बिहनसार or भिनसार, M. भिंवरें, S. भिंभास, भिंभिंकी. (The M. and S. are compounds, of which the first part represents विभ्र.)

Skr. स्वप्न "dream," Old-H. सुपन, सोपन, P. सुफ़न, सुफ़ना, S. सुपनो, G. सुपन.

In these words the accent is entirely neglected; strangely the only word in which Panjabi and Sindhi exhibit oxytone terminations is precisely that one which is barytone in Sanskrit. It will be more convenient to take the feminines of this and all the other *-a* stems together later on.

The suffix *-ana* is one of the most commonly used of all. It is of all three genders, and in the large majority of instances is barytone, carrying the accent on the root-syllable. A few cases exist in which the first syllable of the suffix bears the accent, and some in which it is oxytone, but the rule is that they should be barytone.

The masculine contains simple appellatives whose original meaning was that of the agent. They are not much used in the modern speech, and when they are, occur as Tatsamas, or as very slightly changed Tadbhavas. Being mostly simple words with strong consonants, they offer no opportunity for phonetic changes, and may therefore, in spite of their identity with the Skr. form, be ancient words. I give a short list, as there is not much to be learnt from them, beyond the fact, important to the present portion of our inquiry, that they take in every case the barytone form.

Skr. नन्दन "son" (the delighter), H. नंदन, and so in all. Chiefly used in poetry.

Skr. गायन "singer," H. गायन, and so in all. Chiefly used in poetry.

Skr. दर्पण "mirror" (the flatterer), H. दर्पन, and so in all, except S.

Skr. दहन "fire" (the burner), H. दहन, and so in all.

Skr. दशन "tooth" (the biter), H. दशन, and so in all, except S. Poetic.

Skr. तरण "raft" (the crosser), H. तरन, and so in all, except S. Poetic.

Skr. किरण "ray" (the shiner), H. किरन, and so in all, S. किरिणि.

Skr. ओदन "boiled rice" (the moistener), H. ओदन, and so in all, except S. Poetic.

Three adjectives, oxytone:

Skr. क्रोधन "angry," H. क्रोधन (rare).

Skr. रोषण "angry," H. रोषन (rare), S. रुसिणो comes from another stem.

Skr. रोधन "obstructive," H. रोधन (rare).

Far more widely used, and in every sense more important, is the neuter form. Two classes must be here distinguished: the first, simple appellatives, or names of objects or actions; the second, abstract nouns which have the meaning of the performance of an action, or the being in a state. The latter are in fact the infinitives of verbs.

The first class is always barytone, both in Sanskrit and the moderns.

Skr. अङ्गन, "courtyard," H. आंगन, अंगन, P. B. O. *id.*, G. आंगणु, S. अङणु.

Skr. काञ्चन "gold," H. कांचन, and so in all but S.

Skr. चन्दन "sandal-wood," H. चंदन, in all, B. संदल.

Skr. जीवन "life," H. जीवन, so in all, P. जीव, S. जीउ.

Skr. गान "song," H. गान, so in all.

Skr. स्नान "bath," H. स्नान, असनान, P. B. O. *id.*, G. स्नान and नहाण, M. नहाण, नाहण, S. सनानु.

Skr. नयन "eye," H. नयन, नैन, so in all, G. नेंण (masc. pl.), S. नेणु.

Skr. स्मरण "memory," H. सुमिरन, so in all.

Skr. वेल्लन "rolling pin," H. वेलन, so in all, O. वेलणा.

The second class consists of words which, though simple nouns, and as such regularly declined, perform nevertheless in four out of the seven languages the functions of an infinitive.

Thus from Skr. करणं "the act of doing," H. करना "to do," P. करना, S. करणु, M. करणें.

It is unnecessary to multiply instances, as every verb in each of these languages forms its infinitive in this way, absolutely without exception. In Bengali and Oṛiya the form exists, but simply as an abstract noun, almost entirely restricted to grammatical and other works. The real every-day infinitives of those languages are formed in a different way. Gujarati also wants this form.

In Sanskrit the formations of this class are regularly barytone, and accentuate the root. In M. and S. they are also barytone, but in H. and P. they take the long vowel. It does not appear, however, that this is a regular exception. In old Hindi the infinitive of this class—I say "of this class" because there is another infinitive in वो—ends always in the short vowel. For example, Chand (A.D. 1200) uses the phrases: जय हरन कौं "(in order) to seize the victory," बंधन विचारि "having plotted to bind," जंग जुरन जालिम जुझार "a warrior terrible in the tug of war." In the modern idiom we should have हरने को, बांधना, and जोडने में respectively. This consonantally terminated form, or rather (as it is pronounced in poetry) this form ending in short *a*, is used by the poets as far down as the middle of the seventeenth century. Gambhir Rai (*circa* 1650) has कोऊ न छूहन पावे "(that) no one might be able to touch." Tulsi Das (1600) employs this form regularly in his Ramayan, *e.g.* रखवारे तब बरजन लागे "the keepers then began to forbid (them)," Sundara Kánd. 60, 15. From Bhaktamâla (1630): मांगन कौं धायौ "he ran to beg." I have only picked out an instance or two at random, as the practice is universal.

It will be more appropriate to discuss this matter at full

length under the Verb, and I therefore content myself here with saying that the long vowel appears not to be in any way whatever due to the accent, but to have arisen from the influence of the anuswâra (see Vol. I. § 65), by which *karaṇam* became first करणीं, then करणें, करनां, and lastly *karnâ*. In M. the infinitive is still neuter, and it is masculine in the H. P. and S. merely because those languages have lost the neuter, and only retain the other two genders.[1]

This infinitive is also in certain phrases used as a simple noun, as in Hindi लेना देना or लेन देन, literally "taking and giving," but idiomatically expressing the state of one's loan account with a banker or money-lender; देना पाउना "to give and to receive," idiomatically the outstanding assets and liabilities of a mercantile concern. In Sindhi, words of this class sometimes take the form in *o*, as

ڏيڻو "a debt," ڏيڻو وٺڻو or ڏيڻو لهڻو "debts and credits" (bnt ڏيڻ "to give").

ڀرڻو or ڀرڻ "embroidery" (lit. "filling up," ڀرڻ "to fill").

ڳڙڻو "betrothal" (ڳڙڻ "to ask for").

In these cases the ڙ inserted before the termination is inorganic, and merely due to the preference of Sindhi for that sound (Vol. I. § 32). In Hindi and the other languages, nouns of this kind are more generally feminine, and so also in Sindhi; in Marathi and Panjabi also the fem. form is more usual. Thus

Sindhi چوڻي "saying," verb چوڻ "to say."

,, هلڻي "going," verb هلڻ "to go."

And with short *i*—

Sindhi گهڙڻ "swallowing," verb گهڙڻ "swallow."

[1] Hoernle in a recent article in Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1873, vol. xlii. p. 66, contends for the derivation of these infinitives from Skr. *karaṇiyam*, etc., overlooking the intermediate forms of the mediæval poets, which militate strongly against his conjecture.

When added to causal verbs, this suffix, which then takes also the form ऋणी *aṇi*, is used to express the idea of the cost of doing, or wages for doing, an act; as

Sindhi खणाणी "porterage," verb खणाइणु "to cause to carry."
„ चाराणी "grazing fees," verb चारणु "to cause to graze."
„ धुआरिणी "cost of washing," verb धुआरणु "to cause to wash."

Hindi has words of this class, as मंगनी "betrothal," भरनी "woof," लदनी "lading," but more frequently as consonantally terminated masculines, as भरण पोषण "feeding and protecting," "maintenance." Marathi is perhaps the richest of all the languages in words of this formation. It is, however, as will be seen from the following examples, very capricious in its use of such words, sometimes using a masc. in णा, at others fem. in णी or ण, or neut. in ण or णें.

Verb ऋडणें "to stop," ऋडणा (*m.*), a slip of bamboo to fasten a door with.
ऋडणी (*f.*) } a slip of bamboo to strengthen the
ऋडण (*n.*) } edge of a winnowing-basket.
Verb कसणें "to bind," कसणी (*f.*), ligature.
Verb काटणें "to cut," काटणी (*f.*), a cutting or reaping, *i.e.* the quantity cut at one time.
Verb काढणें "to take out," काढणी (*f.*), removal of crops from a field.
„ „ काढणें (*n.*), a pitcher to draw water from a well with.
Verb खोदणें "to dig," खोदणी (*f.*), a digging.
Verb घोळणें "to stir," घोळण (*n.*), a sifting, the quantity sifted at one time.
„ „ घोळणा (*m.*) } a stick for stirring grain while it
„ „ घोळणें (*n.*) } is being parched.

§ 7. The next class of *-a* stems is that in which the final letter is preceded by a semivowel, as *ya, ra, la, va*. Of these

ya is chiefly used in Taddhitas or secondary stems; there are only a few primaries, which, being feminine, will be treated separately.

(1). Stems in *ra* are of two kinds, those in which the suffix is joined immediately to the root, and those where a joining vowel intervenes. Both kinds are for the most part oxytone in Sanskrit, and the accent is lost by the rejection of the last letter of the nexus; the whole suffix thus ordinarily disappearing.

(*a*). Examples of words where the suffix is joined immediately to the root—

Skr. अभ्र (*o*) "cloud," M. आभ, अभ्रा, G. आभ, S. अभु. In the rest Tatsama.

Skr. आम्र (*o*) "mango," H. आम, अंब, P. *id.*, B. O. आंब, आम, G. आंबो (the tree), M. आंब, अंबा, S. अंबु and आमो.

Skr. उद्र (*o*) "otter," H. ऊद्, P. ऊत, M. G. उद्, B. O. उद्र.

Skr. चन्द्र (*o*) "moon," H. चांद्, and so in all; but P. चंद्, S. चंडु.

Skr. गृध्र (*b*) "vulture," H. गिद्ध, P. *id.*, M. G. गिद्, गीद्, गिध, S. गिझ्, B. O. not used.

Skr. ताम्र (*o*) "copper," H. तांबा, P. *id.* and तंवा, O. *id.*, B. तामा, G. तांबु, M. तांबें, S. टामो.

Skr. व्याघ्र (*o*) "tiger," H. बाघ, and so in all, S. वाघु.

Skr. समुद्र (*o*) "ocean," H. समुदर, समुद्, समुंदर, P. *id.*, the rest समुद्र, S. समुंडु.

Skr. शूद्र (*o*) "Sudra," H. सूद्रा. In the rest Tatsama.

Only two of these words take the long *-â*, and of these तांबा may be derived from the Sanskrit form ताम्रक, which would lose the क, and the two vowels would coalesce into a long vowel, as will be shown hereafter. सूद्रा was probably regarded as an adjective. अंबा in M. is fem., the change of gender accounts for the long vowel.

(*β*). Examples of words where the suffix is joined to the root by a joining vowel—

Skr. चमर (*o*) "chowry," H. चौंर, चौंरी, P. चौर, G. चौरी, M. *id.*, O. चंञ्चर, B. चौंर, S. चौरु.

Skr. दर्दुर (*o*) "frog," H. दादुर, P. G. *id.*, S. ड़ेड़रु.

Skr. देवर (*o*) "husband's younger brother," H. देवर, P. M. *id.*, G. देर, B. O. देयर, S. डेरु.

Skr. धत्तूर (*o*) "dhatura tree," H. धतूरा, P. B. M. *id.*, G. धतूरो, S. धातुरो, O. धुतुरा, धुदुरा.

Skr. बदर (*o*) "jujube," H. बैर, बेर, P. *id.*, M. G. बोर, B. बइर, O. बर, S. बेरु, बेरि.

Skr. भ्रमर (*o*) "bee," H. भंवर, भौंर, P. *id.*, O. भंञ्चर, M. भोंर, B. भोमर, S. भौंरु.

Skr. मन्दिर (*o*) "temple," H. मन्दिर, and in all.

Skr. वर्कर (*o*) "goat," H. बकरा, B. P. *id.*, O. बक्रा, G. बकरो, S. बकिरो, but M. बोकड.

Skr. श्वशुर (*b*) "father-in-law," H. ससुर, P. सौहरा, S. सुहरो, M. सासरा, G. ससरा, B. O. श्वशुर.

There is not much uniformity in this list. Sanskrit oxytones end in the short vowel in Hindi and the rest; and the one barytone is in P. S. M. and G. terminated by the long vowel, though the others keep the short vowel. Under the head of nouns in क will be found an attempt to explain a good deal of this discrepancy. My method of reasoning does not admit of the usual slipshod way of accounting for the difficulty by setting it down to "caprice" or "lawless licence." There is a reason for everything in this world, if we can only find it out; and if we cannot find it out, it is only honest to say so, and not to try and cover our ignorance by saying there is no law. Some words of wide daily use have all sorts of forms; if we knew more about the subject, we should be able to give a reason

for all of them: perhaps some day we or our descendants may be able to do so. For instance, the word चक्र (oxytone) "a wheel," has the following long list of forms in modern times.

H. चक्र "cart-wheel;" चक्कर, चाक, चकरी, चक्की (a mill-stone); चकला, चक.

P. चक्क, चकर, चक्कर; चकला, चकली, चकळी; चक्की, चकुला, चाकळी.

S. चकरु, चकरि, चकिरि, चको, चकु, चकी, चक्रु; चकुलो, चकुली; चीकिलो.

G. चक्कर, चक्र, चाक; चक्की, चक्री, चाकी, चाकळो.

M. चक; चकला, चकली; चकीर; चक्का, चक्की; चक्र; चाक, चाकी.

O. चक, चकडा, चकडी; चकला, चका, चकी, चक्र; चाक.

B. चक, चकला, चक्र, चक्कर, चाक, चाका, चाकी, चाकती.

All these may be undoubtedly accounted for by special rules. Their significations are very various, all resting on and derived from the primary idea of roundness. To enter into a detailed examination of all of them would take too much time and space. I therefore pass on to the next form.

(2). Stems in *la*. Many nouns ending in *la* do not come under this head, because the *l* is part of the root, काल, कुल, बाल, जाल and others, which are to be considered as formed by pratyayas leaving *a* only. Of those which are really formed by the suffix *la*, the following are some of the commonest.

(*a*). Substantives.

Skr. कमल (*b*) "lotus," H. P. कमल, कंवल, M. G. कमळ, O. *id.*, B. कमल, S. कंवलु.

Skr. कम्बल (*o*) "blanket," H. कम्मल, कंबल, P. कम्मळ, कंबळ, G. कामळ, कांबळो, कमळी, M. कांबळा, O. कमळ, B. कम्बल, कम्लि, S. कमरि.

Skr. कवल (*o*) "mouthful," H. कौल, कुल्ली, P. कुलीं, कुर्लू, G. कोळियो, M. कवल, B. O. कुल्ली, कुल्लि.[1]

Skr. कदल (*o*) "plantain," H. केला, P. O. *id.*, S. केविडो, G. केळ, केर, M. केळ, B. कला, कदिला.

Skr. कुण्डल (*o*) "earring," H. कुंडल, P. कुंडळ, S. कुंदलु, G. कुंडळ, M. B. O. कुण्डल.

Skr. कोकिल (*o*) "koïl," H. कोइल, P. S. B. *id.*, G. कोयळ, M. कोकील, O. कोयळि.

Skr. पिप्पल (*b*) "pipal-tree," H. पीपल, P. B. पिप्पल, O. पिम्पळ,[2] M. *id.*, G. पिपल, S. पिपिरु.

Skr. मण्डल (*b*) "circle," H. मंडल, and so in all, M. G. O. also मंडळ.

Skr. युगल (*o*) "pair," H. जुगल, P. G. B. *id.*, O. जुगळ, M. जुळा, जुवळ, जुवळा (twin, *adj.*), जुळें (twins, *s.n.*), जुळी, जूळ.

Skr. शृङ्खल (*o*) "chain," H. सांकर, सांकल, संकर, P. संघर, S. *id.*, G. सांखळ, M. *id.* and B. शिकल, O. शिकळ.

(*β*). Adjectives.

Skr. चंचल (*o*) "tremulous," H. चंचल, चंचला, चांचल, P. चंचल, S. चंचलु, G. चंचळ, M. B. O. चंचल.

Skr. शिथिल (*o*) "loose," H. ढीला, P. ढिल्ला, S. ढिरो, ढिल्लो, G. ढीलो°ई°उं, M. ढील, O. ढिला, B. *id.*

Skr. शीतल (*o*) "cold," H. सीतल, सीला°ई, P. सीतल, सिल्हा, S. सीतलु, M. शीतळ, O. *id.*, B. शीतल.

In the case of adjectives, the Tatsama form does not take the long vowel, while the Tadbhava forms do to a great extent. This confirms the general theory. Tatsamas resuscitated after the Sanskrit language had ceased to be spoken would naturally not follow the accent.

[1] Chiefly used in the sense of rinsing the mouth with water after eating.

[2] The Oriyas probably borrowed this word from the Marathas, as it is only found in the names of a few places, probably founded during the Maratha rule. The Oriyas generally use उसठ or ऋसठ, from अश्वत्थ.

(3). The suffix *va* is employed to form both adjectives and substantives. It is not of common use. Examples:

Skr. अश्व (*b*) "horse," only used rarely as a Tatsama.

Skr. पार्श्व (*o*) "side," S. पासो, M. पासल.

Skr. विल्व (*b*) "bel-tree," H. वेल, B. M. O. *id.*

Skr. पक्व (*b*) "ripe," H. पक्का, P. M. O. *id.*, also पिका, S. पको, G. पाको, B. पाका.

Skr. पूर्व "eastern, former," H. पूरब, in the rest पूर्ब, S. पूर्बु.

Skr. सर्व "all," H. सब, सारा, B. *id.*, O. सबु, P. सरब, सभ, S. सभु.

पार्श्व, as a substantive, has descendants only in M. and S.; but in the locative case पार्श्वे it forms an adverb of place, पास "near," in all the languages. As, however, we are discussing the formation of the stem with especial reference to its termination, this adverb does not concern us here. In the case of so familiar a word as सर्व "all," many irregularities might be expected to have crept in; thus we have the barytone सब, as well as the oxytone सारा, the latter by the rejection of the व. Chand uses an oblique singular सबै, which would point to a nom. सबा, if we could place any reliance on so rude an author. The final vowel is, however, often merely inserted to eke out the metre; as in the hymn to Ganesh (i. 27, 26):

सबै कज्ज अग्गै। तुहीनाम लग्गै॥

"Before all affairs, thy name is prefixed."

Here the metre is Chhânda-virâja:

∪ – । – ∪ । – – ॥ ∪ – । – ∪ । – – ॥[1]

§ 8. The suffix *ma* forms adjectives, and masc. and neut. substantives. It is generally oxytone, though there is also a

[1] This constant use of *sabbai* in Chand may be nothing more than a Prakritism for the nom. pl. of Skr. *sarvve*.

class of appellatives which carry the tone on the root-syllable. Examples:

Skr. कर्दम (*b*) "mud," H. कादा, कादो, G. कादव, O. कादुअ, B. कादा.

Skr. ग्राम (*b*) "village," H. गांव, S. गाउ, गामु, G. गाम, M. गांव, B. O. गां.

Skr. घर्म (*o*) "heat," H. घाम, M. O. B. *id.*

Skr. द्रुम (*o*) "tree," H. द्रुम, and so in all.

Skr. धूम (*o*) "smoke," H. धूआं, P. *id.*, S. धूंहां, M. G. धूम, B. धुयां, O. धूंआ.

Skr. धर्म (*b*) "justice," H. धरम, and so in all.

Skr. वाम (*b*) "left-hand," H. बायां, बावां, P. बाइआं, G. M. वाम, B. बां, O. *id.* and बाम.

Skr. हिम (*o*) "snow," H. हिम, M. हिवं. In the rest Tatsama.

Skr. हेम (*o*) "gold," Old-H. हें, हेम.

There are not many examples of this suffix. In most of them, where not still in the Tatsama form, the weakness of the म, which passes into व preceded by anuswara, has caused the loss of the final syllable to be very common. In many cases the व has itself disappeared, leaving only the anuswara; and in कादो, कादा, etc., even the anuswara is lost.

§ 9. The suffix *ka* is of very frequent use in Sanskrit, and in the modern languages its use is extremely common. It branches out into many different classes, and its discussion is embarrassed by the fact that it is employed both as a primary and a secondary suffix. We are not directly concerned, however, with the minute distinctions which Sanskrit grammarians find necessary; for our purpose it suffices to take the Sanskrit noun as it stands, without troubling ourselves to inquire whether it be formed by adding the suffix to a verb, or to another noun. As regards the modern languages, some of the classes of this

suffix which are regarded in Sanskrit as secondary are perfectly primary, and may be so treated without any loss of clearness.

Ka is generally joined to the root by a vowel, and the terminations most in use in forming nouns which have lived on to the present day are *aka*, *ika*, *uka*, *âka*, and *ûka*.

Whatever may be the strict philological theory as to the origin of this *ka*, in practice there can be no doubt that its meaning is primarily that of "the doer." It may perhaps be supposed to be a shortened form from the root *kar*, "to do;" but this is a matter of Sanskrit philology, into which it is needless here to inquire. Starting from this point, however, the meaning, like all meanings in all languages, widens out and loses in distinctness as it goes on. A fourfold division may be detected, which has this advantage, that it subsists in the languages of the present day as clearly as in Sanskrit and the Prakrits. If it be found in Sanskrit, it will of course be also found in the Prakrits, as the latter are the mere apes of the former, having no independent ideas of their own; or perhaps it would be fairer to say of them, that they are identical with Sanskrit in so far as they are the popular side of that ancient Aryan speech of which Sanskrit is the learned and literary side only. It is not till we come to the Indian *renaissance* in the twelfth century that we find the popular dialects possessing any originality, and striking out for themselves forms which are something more than mere colloquial and phonetic corruptions of Sanskrit. When they do begin to do so, they often leave the ancient path and go into ground where it is difficult to follow them, or account for the origins of their forms. When therefore they do carry on an ancient system into modern times, it is a fact to be laid hold of and brought to the fore.

The fourfold division which I make is, then, as follows:

(1). Words which mean purely and simply "the doer:" as कारक "doer," पाचक "cooker," दायक "giver," लेखक "writer."

(2). Words in which the sense of "the doer" is only to be

detected metaphorically: as सरक "a road," *i.e.* that which goes on and on; लोचक "pupil of the eye," *i.e.* that which shines or glances; पावक "fire," *i.e.* that which purifies; तमक "asthma," *i.e.* that which chokes. This class includes words which are derived from intransitive verbs, and those in which a passive sense must be substituted for that of the agent: as चिचक "leopard," *i.e.* the spotted animal; खातक "a pit," *i.e.* that which is dug; सृक "lotus," *i.e.* that which blooms; सूतक "birth," *i.e.* the act of being born.

(3). Words which have entirely lost all idea of agency, if indeed they ever had it, and have become pure appellatives: as कटक "an army," which, if it ever had the idea of "the encompasser," from the root कट् "to surround," had lost it long before the times to which we can look back; वृक "a wolf," for which we have only a dubious verbal root वृक् "to seize," which looks as if invented for the occasion; नरक "hell," लोक "world."

(4). Words in which the suffix has no meaning at all, but is merely added for metrical purposes, or to avoid the intricacies of declension. This is a very numerous class, and we have side by side two forms, one with the suffix, the other without it: as कटि and कटिका "waist," करण्ड and करण्डक "box," काल and कालक "black," गोल and गोलक "ball," जाल and जालक "net," तन्तु and तन्तुक "thread," and hundreds of others. It may almost be said that this suffix may be added at will to any Sanskrit noun, and in fact it would be allowable for any one who was composing or translating into that language to add the suffix to any noun he pleased, and authority would no doubt be found for any individual word in the vast stores of classical Sanskrit writings.

In the modern languages, although the same shades of meaning can easily be traced, yet as our business is rather with form than meaning, it will be more convenient to exhibit the various details of this large and important class according to its forms,

alluding to the meaning of the words only where they are in any way essential to the clear perception of the subject.

(1). अक has two forms.—(*a*). In Tatsamas it retains the *k* with the masculine gender, and with the sense in general of the agent, as in कारक "a doer," हारक "a taker," ग्राहक "a taker." In Tadbhavas there is a numerous group of interesting words, which have come to us through the Prakrit, by virtue of the rule laid down in Book I. § 53 (3) and § 54. A single consonant in the middle of a word would be elided by that rule, and the termination *akah* becomes thus *ao*. In the moderns the *a* drops out and the *o* is retained in G. and S., but changed to *â* in the others. Thus we get the following:

Skr. आमलक "emblic myrobalan," Pr. आमलओ, H. आंवला, P. आऊळा, M. आंवळा, B. आमोला.

Skr. कण्टक "thorn," Pr. कंटओ, H. कांटा, P. कंडा, M. कांटा, काटा, B. *id.*, O. कण्टा, G. कांटो, S. कंडो.

Skr. घोटक "horse," Pr. घोडओ, H. घोडा, P. M. B. O. *id.*, S. G. घोडो.

Skr. चित्रक "leopard," H. चीता, P. चित्ता, M. चिता, B. O. *id.*, G. चित्तो, S. चिट्टो and चीतो.

Skr. पत्रक "description," Pr. पटओ, H. पता, P. *id.*, M. पत्ता, B. O. *id.*, G. S. पतो.

Skr. पुस्तक "book," Pr. पोत्थओ, H. पोथा, and so in all. The fem. पोथी is however more common.

Skr. भाटक "hire," H. भाडा, B. O. *id.*, P. भाढा, S. भांडो.

Skr. मस्तक "head," Pr. मंथओ, H. माथा, B. M. *id.*, P. मत्था, S. मथो, O. मथा.

Skr. स्फोटक "tumour," Pr. खोडओ, H. फोडा, B. O. P. *id.*

Sindhi uses this affix, which in that language naturally results in *o*, as descriptive of trades or occupations. Trumpp gives as examples the following, formed by Sindhi out of its own modern materials:

वाढो "carpenter," verb वढणु "to cut."
चीरो "sawyer," ,, चीरणु "to split."
टोवो "diver," ,, टुवणु "to dive."
घोरो "seeker," ,, घुरणु "to seek."

In भाटक M. is irregular, having भाड (*fem.*) and मोंड (*n.*). So also G. भाडुं and मथुं instead of मथो from मस्तक. M. has also contrary to rule फोड from स्फोटक, but also फोडो, which, as will be shown hereafter, is from a Skr. fem. form स्फोटिका. The feminines of the form in *aka* always end in Skr. in *ikâ*, *e.g. bâlaka*, "boy," *bâlikâ*, "girl." The comparative neglect by M. of the long *â* is possibly due to the fact that masc. nouns ending in short *a*, i.e. *a* mute, in that language, change the *a* to *â* in the oblique cases; thus from घर "a house," घरा चा "of a house," घरा ला "to a house," so that the distinction between this class of nouns and that which ends in long *â* exists only in the nominative, and is thus of comparatively rare occurrence.

Here also it may be admitted that, as the suffix क may be added at will to all nouns in Prakrit, it is probable that many of the nouns ending in long *â* or *o*, which I have held to be derived from Skr. oxytones, do in reality owe their final long vowel to the fact that the word from which they are derived had in popular, though not in classical usage, a क tacked on to it. This would account for Sanskrit barytones like लोह, सुवर्ण, becoming लोहा, सोना, with long *â*. The difficulty, as already mentioned, is the existence of *any* nouns in *a-u*; if *ka* is added to *all* nouns of the *a*-stem, why do not *all* end in *â-o*?[1]

(*β*). The suffix अक appears also in a great many words of apparently modern origin, as well as in a few which can be traced back to Sanskrit, most of which are feminine.

[1] This view is taken, as I have stated above, by Prof. Hoernle of Benares, in Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xli. p. 154. The learned writer is not disposed to admit with me the influence of the accent at all. There is, however, not only much that is difficult to understand in that essay, but much that requires further proof.

Some of these are pure appellatives, and if derived from Sanskrit feminines, all of which end in इका, they must have lost the final long *á*, and changed the *i* into *a*, neither of which processes indeed are without a parallel, though it seems unnecessary to suppose that they have taken place here. Examples of such words are—

H. सड़क "a road" (*f.*), P. M. B. O. *id.*, G. सडक (*m.*).

H. फाटक "a gate" (*m.*), and so in all except S.

H. बैठक "a seat" (*f.*), and so in all but S. G. writes बेठक.

We find in Sanskrit सरकः and सरकं "a road," as well as सृति, from a form of which, सर्तिका, or from सरक by change of the semivowel into the media, this word may have been derived. फाटक, like all the neuters of its class (see Vol. I. § 80), is a formation from the root स्फट् "to split," "to open," though we cannot point to any actually used Sanskrit word from which to derive it. बैठक is quite a modern word from the verb बैठना, concerning the origin of which see Vol. I. p. 179.

Now comes a long string of words, all feminine, which express noises, pains, violent actions, and are like our words *buzz*, *thump*, *crack*, *bang*, *jingle*, *tingle*, and the like. It is almost impossible to do more in any of these cases than refer the word in a general way back to some Sanskrit root. The majority of them are in all probability onomatopoetic. As the same words do not occur in all the languages, I give each language separately, and add that every one of these words has its verb with the same meaning. I give the verb in the first few examples to show how it is formed, the reader can supply the rest for himself.

Hindi. अटक "stoppage" (अटकना "to be stopped," अटकाना "to restrain), कसक "pain" (कसकना "to ache"), कडक "crash" (कडकना "to crash," "to fall with a crash"), कचक "sprain," खडक "clang," खटक "pit-a-pat," गहक "drunkenness," "reeling," चौंक "starting,"

चिलक, चमक, झलक, झमक, द्लक, द्मक, all mean "glitter," "flashing," चटक "crack," "snap," झिझक "start," झटक "jerk," झिडक "wrangling," "quarrelling," टसक "twinge," टनक "harsh sound," "crunch," टपक "throb," "drip," टहक "ache," ठिठक "amazement," ठुनक "sob," ढडक, धडक "trembling," ढलक "rolling," "wallowing," द्हक "glare," फरक "flutter," "twitter," भडक "starting," "flash," मटक "ogle," लचक "bound," "spring," लटक "hanging," "dangling," लपक "flash," "bound," ललक "gush," "bursting," लहक "flash," "glare," सटक "tapering."

Panjabi. Many of the same words as Hindi, as ऋटक, कडक, खटक, चिलक, चमक, चटक, झटक, झलक, also टणक, ठुणक; and some words of its own, as चिटक "filth," "scum," चिरक "pus," "mucus," झपक "wink," टोटक "jugglery," "hocus-pocus," द्रक "crouching," "skulking," धसक "fear," "dread," मडक "creaking" (of shoes), ललक "fondness," "petting," and others.

Sindhi does not exhibit many words of this form, owing to its invariable rule of making all its words end in a vowel. Examples are झलक (*f.*) "lustre," रीचकु (*m.*) "caprice," "whim," and a few others agreeing with Hindi, as ऋटक, चमक, झलक, etc.; but Sindhi, as will be shown hereafter, has another form for words of this class.

Marathi has झळक "glitter," तडक "bang!" "crash!" द्चक "shock," गजक "copiousness," चटक "liking," "taste for a thing," थडक "blow," शिणक "twinge," टमक "jingle," वचक and चवक "handful," लवक "a dab," or "mass of mud," शिळक "a splinter," together with some of those that occur in Hindi.

Gujarathi is, like Sindhi, not very partial to this form. Instances are ठमक "strut," "swagger," ठणक "sob," डचक "shock," ठपक "slur," "blot," चमक "glitter," झळक and झमक "glitter."

Oriya and *Bengali* have mostly the same words as Hindi, which need not be repeated.

From the above lists have been excluded words of similar form, in which the क is organic, or a part of the root, as टक "staring," झोक "shove," "puff," टूक "piece," टोक "hindrance." But under this head come miscellaneous words like चौक (*m.*) "square" (in all the languages), which is probably from Skr. चत्वरक. The H. चौंक "starting," as in चौंक उठना "to start up" (as a man suddenly aroused from sleep), is, it would seem, contracted from चमत्क, a shortened form of Sanskrit चमत्कार "surprise."

All these words being in form identical with the root of the verb, are most usually employed to form compound verbs with the addition of जाना, लेना, देना, रहना or other semi-auxiliaries, especially in Hindi, as लटक रहा "it remained hanging," घोडा भडक गया "the horse started (from fear)," उसको पटक दिया "he dashed it against (the ground)." It is doubtful, therefore, whether in many cases they should not be rather considered as a part of the verb, than as nouns.

Sindhi, Gujarati, and Marathi, and to a less extent the other languages too, use also a closely allied form of this suffix, in which the final vowel is long, *kâ* or *ko*. In many cases both forms exist, as in H. धडक and धडका, G. झटक and झटको. In Sindhi this form is the favourite, and is used almost to the exclusion of the other in क. Examples in that language are the following:

उडको "fear," "dread," उबिडको "retching," उल्को "care," "anxiety," कडको "crack," "crash," "thunderpeal," खडको "rattling," "pattering," खुडको *id.*, गुडको "rumbling," गहको "rub," चसको "fondness," "taste," छलको "burst," "blast," "gust," झटको *id.*, झुलको "puff," टहको "boiling," "bubbling," धडको "trembling," धधको "rumbling," "gurgling," फडको "quivering," "shivering," "rustling," फफको "bubbling."

The other languages have also this form. Thus Hindi has कडका as well as कडक, झलका and झलक, धडका and धडक. It is not necessary to give detailed examples, as in popular and

vulgar words like these no very strict canon is observed; sometimes one form is used, sometimes the other. In O. and B. the form in क is most common.

(2). The suffix इक follows the analogy of अक. In Tatsamas it retains the क, in Tadbhavas the क goes out. Here, however, it is not left in the same condition as अक, because the disappearance of the क brings into contact *i* and *o*, and later *i* + *â*. In the case of *aka*, the result of the elision of *k* was *a* + *o* and *a* + *â*, in both of which cases the short *a* was easily absorbed by the long vowel; *i*, however, resists absorption, not being homogeneous with the vowel following. What we really get is a double set of forms, of which one ends in long *î* ई, the other in इआ, इयो, or या.

Taking first the form in ई, we are met by the difficulty that more than one Sanskrit termination results in ई, at least in H. P. B. and O. For instance, there is the form ईयं = ई, as in Skr. पानीयं, which is in all पानी or पाणी; and again, Skr. इन् = ई in स्वामिन्, modern सांई or सांई, धनिन् = धनी; as well as Skr. ई itself. Further, it must be observed that the suffix इक is in most cases a secondary suffix, so that a notice of it would hardly come in here. The cases I shall now give are chiefly from the Skr. fem. इका, which, as mentioned above, belongs really to the अक series.

The best example of a *bonâ-fide* primary word of this form is the following:

Skr. मौक्तिकं "pearl," Pr. मोत्तिअं, मोती (*m.*), M. मोतीं (*n.*). In all the rest मोती (*m.*).

In M. the anuswara is a retention of the neuter form in Prakrit.

The following are from feminines in इका:

Skr. मक्षिका "fly," H. P. मक्खी, माछी (*f.*), O. B. माछी, M. माशी, G. माखी, S. मखि.

Skr. मृत्तिका "earth," H. मिट्टी, मट्टी, P. G. *id.*, M. माती, O. B. माटी, S. मिटी.

Skr. कर्कटिका "cucumber," H. ककडी, and so with slight phonetic variations, but with final *i*, in all.

Skr. कुञ्चिका "key," H. B. कूंजी, P. S. M. कुंजी, G. कुंची, O. कुंचि, कुंजि.

Skr. खटिका "chalk," H. खडी, and so in all, but O. खडि.

Skr. दाढिका "beard," H. G. डाढी, P. दाहडी, S. डाडही, M. दाढी, O. दाढि, B. दाडी.

Skr. चोटिका "rapeseed," H. तोडी, M. तोंडा.

Here we may introduce a group of Marathi agents and adjectives, which, as derived from Tadbhava verbs, are primary, and appear to have originated from Sanskrit nouns in *ika*, by rejecting the *k* and hardening *i* into *y*. Such are—

काढ्या "a borrower,"	verb	काढणें "to extract."
खप्या "laborious,"	,,	खपणें "to work."
खरड्या "scraper,"	,,	खरडणें "to scrape."
जड्या "jeweller,"	,,	जडणें "to set jewels."
टेहळ्या "prying,"	,,	टेहळणें "to pry."

In many of these the alternative form in long *i* is found, as काढी, खपी, etc., and in some cases the latter is the only form in use, as शेती "owner of a field" (Skr. क्षेत्रिक), from शेत "a field" (Skr. क्षेत्र).

We may now dismiss *ika* till we come to the secondary formations to which it more properly belongs.

(3). उक is exactly similar to अक and इक, but its various forms can be traced with greater accuracy, as the vowel is not so easily confounded with other suffixes.

(*a*). The full form *uka* is retained only in Tatsamas.

(*β*). The *k* is rejected, together with the vowel which follows it, and the *u* lengthened in compensation. Words of this class

have almost always the sense of the agent, either direct or only very slightly metaphorical. Instances are the following:

Hindi	उजाड़ू "destroyer,"	verb	उजाड़ना "to destroy."
,,	उतारू "spiller,"	,,	उतारना "to cause to descend," P. *id.* but in sense of "degraded," M. *id.* "a passenger."
,,	काटू "cutter,"	,,	काटना "to cut."
,,	खाऊ "eater,"	,,	खाना "to eat," P. S. M. *id.*, G. खाउ (adjective) "destructive."
,,	खिड्डू "player,"	,,	खेलना "to play."
,,	पहरू "watcher,"	,,	— [Skr. प्रहर, H. पहरा "watch"], P. पहिरू.
,,	मारू "fighter," "beater,"	,,	मारना "to strike," P. S. *id.*, G. मारु (adjective).
,,	डाकू[1] "caller," "robber,"	,,	डाकना "to shout," P. *id.*, O.B. डाकु.
,,	धकेलू "pusher," "shover,"		धकेलना "to shove," P. *id.*
,,	मुण्डू "ascetic," "one who shaves his head,"	,,	मुण्डना "to shave," P. *id.* "a child whose head has been shaved for the first time."
,,	पेलू "wrestler,"	,,	पेलना "to pull," P. *id.*
,,	जागू "waker,"	,,	जागना "to wake," P. *id.*
,,	ढालू "metal caster,"	,,	ढालना "to cast metals," P. *id.*
,,	विगाड़ू "spoiler,"	,,	विगाड़ना "to spoil," P. *id.*
,,	झाड़ू "sweeper," "broom,"		झाड़ना "to sweep," and so in all.

In addition to the words noted above, Panjabi has also पाड़ू "tearer," पाड़ह "reader," जाचू "prover," "trier," डोवू "dipper,"

[1] *Ḍáku* is a rural form of *Ḍakait* (dacoit). The word is derived from the verb "to shout," because the dacoits always shout and call out at the entrance of the village they are about to plunder, whereby all the inhabitants, being terrified, hide in their houses, and the dacoits, who are generally quite as afraid of the villagers as the villagers of them, can plunder the house they select without opposition.

उधालू "adulterer," नवाह्र "lasting," from पाढणा "to tear," पडहणा "to read," जसणा "to test," डुबणा "to be immersed," उधालना "to abduct," "seduce" (Skr. उद्दरणं), निबाहणा "to endure" (Skr. निर्वहणं in the sense of not + destruction). In some of these, as पाडह्र, जाचू, डोबू, the radical vowel is lengthened, or even gunatized, a practice of which more examples will be shown under the Verb.

From the habitual omission of the Gujaratis to distinguish between short and long *u*, it comes to pass that it is almost impossible to tell which of the words ending in *u* should correctly be written with long *û*. As each word must be considered on its own merits, the dictionary is the fit place for the discussion. खाउ, जागरू, उतारू, should probably be written with ऊ, but in many others the point is doubtful. The difficulty is increased by the fact of the existence of the pratyaya *u* in Skr., which also has the sense of the agent, so that in a language which does not distinguish between the long and the short vowel, it becomes impossible to say whether we are dealing with *u*, or *uka*, or *ûka*. The following list exhibits the most common words of the class: [1]

Verb खावुं "to eat,"	खाउ "eater."
,, गावुं "to sing,"	गाउ "singer."
,, भटकवुं "to wander,"	भटकु "wanderer."
,, खर्चवुं "to spend,"	खर्चु "spender."
,, समजवुं "to understand,"	समजु "intelligent."
,, खेडवुं "to till,"	खेडु "cultivator."
,, झाडवुं "to sweep,"	झाडु "broom."
,, चरवुं "to wander,"	चरू "wanderer."

[1] For this list I have to thank the Rev. I. V. Taylor, of Ahmadabad, an accomplished Gujarati scholar, and author of an excellent grammar of that language, published at the Irish Mission Press, Surat, 1868. It is unfortunately written in Gujarati, so that one is expected to know the language in order to learn it!

Verb करवुं "to do,"	करू "doer."
„ भरवुं "to fill,"	भरू "filler."

Of these करू, भरू, खाउ, गाउ, are probably formed with *u*, and the rest with *uka*. The word खर्चु is a hybrid from Persian خَرچ "expense."

Sindhi has many examples of this form; the following are the principal:

तारू "swimmer,"	verb तरणु "to swim."
भाजू "fugitive,"	„ भजणु "to flee."
भाञू "breaker,"	„ भञणु "to break."
माञू "one who obeys,"	„ मञणु "to obey."
रहू "dweller,"	„ रहणु "to dwell."
पहरू "goat" (*i.e.* "browser"),	„ पहरणु "to put out (cattle) to graze."
पेनू "beggar,"	„ पिनणु "to beg."
घोमू "vagabond,"	„ घुमणु "to wander."
सहू "patient,"	„ सहणु "to endure."
वेडहू "fighter,"	„ विडहणु "to fight."
फोडू "robber,"	„ फुडणु "to rob."
हाञू "destroyer,"	„ [Skr. हन् "to kill"].

In the majority of cases it will be observed that the vowel of the root is lengthened or gunatized. Marathi does not employ this termination very largely, and I have not found many instances worth quoting. Nor do Bengali and Oriya much favour it: a final long vowel is in no case agreeable to the spirit of these two languages; and the forms in use belong to the next class.

Hindi has a few words of this form which are simple appellatives as far as their present use is concerned, though, perhaps, by some far-fetched and fanciful chain of metaphor, they may be capable of being resolved into agents. Such are:

Skr. वालुका "sand," H. वालू, G. has also वाळु, but O. वालि, S. वारी, B. वाली and °लि, probably from a Skr. form वालिका (see remark on वृश्चिक under इक).

Skr. भल्लुक, also भल्लक and भल्लूक "a bear," H. भालू, M. *id.*, O. भालु. Bhojpuri Hindi *per metathesin* भाऊल, भौल.

Skr. मामक (? मामुक) "maternal uncle," H. माम, M. *id.*, O. मामु, but B. and P. मामा, G. and S. मामो.

(γ). Especially in B. and O. the form ending in उआ (often shortened to उअ in O.) prevails, and in Hindi also this form is frequently found, particularly in words denoting occupation or trade. In Bengali it is ordinarily written उया, but in this case, as in many others, the य is merely a fulcrum for the following vowel, and is not pronounced. In this class are included many simple appellatives, and numerous words for which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a Sanskrit origin. Examples are:

Bengali माकुया "fisherman," O. माकुअ and °अ, H. मछुआ, also written मकुवा, P. मछूआ, S. मकुओ "a fishing-boat," G. मछवो *id.* [Probably from an unrecorded Skr. form मात्स्यक.]

Bengali भेड़ुया "pimp," O. भडुआ and °अ, H. भड़ूआ (chiefly as a term of abuse), M. भडवा. [The classical Skr. is भर्याट, but we must suppose a form भा° or भट्टक, from भट् "to hire," *i.q.* one who hires out women; cf. our English *whore*, German *Hure*, Ang.-Sax. *hure*, with *hyre*, *heuer*, "reward," "hire."]

Bengali टेकुया "skewer," verb टेक "to stick."

Bengali ठेकुया "stake," verb *id.*

Bengali डाकुया "postman," verb डाक "to call."

Bengali चाटुया and चेटुया "palm of hand," verb चाट "to stroke," "lick."

Bengali डेङ्गुया "widower," probably connected with डांग "a stick," *q.d.* "a withered branch," "fruitless," O. डांगुआ.

Bengali पेटुया "glutton," from पेट "belly."

Bengali झालुया "pungent sauce," verb झाल् "to burn."

Bengali छाचुया "cast in a mould."

Bengali छेमुया "snarling."

Bengali जालुया "watery."

Oriya has, besides those mentioned, जाळुअ "full of holes," from जाळ "a net;" वाडुआ "bachelor," probably from वाडि "a stick" (see डेङ्गुया above); भकुआ "a fool;" मऊआ "honeyed," from मधु "honey;" मदुआ "a drunkard," from मद् "wine;" भारुआ "a bearer," from Skr. भृ "to bear," भार "a load;" नालुआ "an oil-bottle," from नल "a reed" (oil being generally carried in a joint of bamboo); नाकुआ "a big nose," from नाक "nose;" ढेणुआ "a clod," डालुआ "a kind of rice," etc.

Many of these words are secondary forms, if we have regard to the rule which holds that only nouns derived directly from verbs are to be considered as primitives; but in words whose derivation is admittedly obscure, it seems unnecessary to keep up this distinction.

In Hindi there are often two forms of the same word, just as we saw in *aka*. Thus we have पहरू and पहरुआ, डबू and डबुआ; and in many cases there is only the form in *uá*, as in रेतुआ "one who files," from रेती "a file," or रेतना "to file;" भडुआ, मकुआ, mentioned above, and many others. In Bhojpuri Hindi the termination *uá* is added capriciously to all nouns whatsoever, and as we cannot suppose an origin from a form in *uka* for all of them, we must be content to see in this practice merely another instance of the common rule that a form, when once introduced into a language, is extended to all sorts of words with which it has no legitimate connexion. Thus we hear the peasant of Tirhut and Champáran use the following forms:

चेरुआ "slave," Hindi चेरा.

हरुआ "plough," „ हल.

बेटुआ "son," Hindi बेटा.

घरुआ "house," ,, घर, etc.

(4). *âka.*—Connected with this suffix is a form *âku*, which appears principally in Sindhi, and to which, with elision of क, Trumpp refers a common form in Sindhi *âû*, in which the final *u* is lengthened. It is clear, however, from the structure of other parts of words in Hindi which end in this form *âû*, that they are not derived from *âku*, but from causal verbs, in which, as I have explained in Vol. I. § 60, the *aya*, which is the characteristic of the causal in Skr., is changed through *âu* into *â*, to which the long *û* representing the suffix *uka* is appended; thus we get—

फुसलाना "to coax,"[1] H. फुसलाऊ "a coaxer," "wheedler."

खिलाना "to feed" [caus. of खाना "to eat"], H. खिलाऊ "feeder."

उड़ाना "to cause to fly" [caus. of उडना "to fly"], H. उडाऊ "spend-thrift" ("one who makes the money fly"), P. *id.*, S. *id.*

कमाना "to earn" [a quasi-causal or nominal verb from काम "work"], H. कमाऊ "a worker," "bread-winner," P. *id.*, M. *id.*

लखाना "to make clear" [caus. of लखना "to see," Skr. लक्षनं], H. लखाऊ "an indicator," also as adj. "significant," "perceptible."

टिकाना "to detain" [caus. of टिकना "to remain"], H. टिकाऊ (*adj.*) "durable," "stationary," P. *id.*

जडाना "to cause to be set" (jewels) [caus. of जडना "to set jewels"], H. जडाऊ "jewelled," "studded with gems," P. *id.*, S. *id.*

बटाना "to travel" [unused irreg. caus. from बाट "road"], H. बटाऊ "traveller," P. *id.*

घुलाना "to melt" [caus. of घुलना "to be melted"], H. घुलाऊ "a liquefier," "solvent."

M. काढाऊ "one who is inveigled away" (wife or servant), from काढणें "to take away."

[1] Causal of an unused फुसलना "to slip," "to waver," *i.q.* "to cause to waver."

This class is exceedingly numerous, especially in H. and P.; in fact, a word of this form might be made from every causal in the language, and would probably be understood by all classes. The dictionaries do not give every word, perhaps because the compilers do not happen to have met them in writings.

Instances of nouns in *âú* in Sindhi which Trumpp refers to *âku* are the following:

रहाऊ "dweller,"	from	रहणु "to remain."
छिकाऊ "puller,"	,,	छिकणु "to pull."
विर्चाऊ "wearisome,"	,,	विर्चाइणु "to tire."
विञाऊ "a destroyer,"	,,	विञाइणु "to destroy."
वेकाऊ "saleable,"	,,	विकणु "to be sold."
पेटाऊ "an ill-wisher,"	,,	पिटणु "to curse."

Of these words, however, विर्चाऊ may be regarded as formed by *uka* from the causal, as the word विर्चणु "to be wearied," "to be tired by any one," is in use, and विर्चाइणु is its causal; and the same may be suggested of most of the others. Sindhi does in many cases retain the *k*; as, for instance—

गिराकु "a receiver,"	verb	गिरणु[1] "to take."
पिञाकु "a drinker,"	,,	पिञणु "to drink."
रहाकु "dweller,"	,,	रहणु "to dwell."
निंड़ाकु "sleeper,"	,,	निंड "sleep" (Skr. निद्रा).
हेराकु "tamed,"	,,	हेरणु "to tame."

But there are many instances in Sindhi, in addition to those given above, in which the form *âú* is undoubtedly from the causal, as

गुसाऊ "a shirker," verb गुसाईणु "to miss," "evade," causal of गुसणु "to be missed."

[1] Although this verb now means "to devour," yet its origin (from Skr. ग्रहण) shows that it had at one time the meaning "to take," which has now attached itself to another derivative from ग्रह, namely, गिम्हणु.

खपाऊ "extravagant," verb खपाड्णु "to spend," causal of खपणु "to be spent."

छुटाऊ "deliverer," छुटाड्णु "to deliver," causal of छुटणु "to escape."

In Hindi this suffix takes usually the form *âk*; as far as my inquiries have gone, I am not aware of any forms in *âû* in Hindi which can be referred to *âku*; they appear all to be like फुसलाऊ, खिलाऊ, and the rest, derived from causal verbs, and the *â* belongs to the verb, and not to the suffix. Instances of *âka* = *âk* are the following:

Hindi उडाक "a flier," "a bird that has just begun to fly."
„ पैराक "a swimmer."
„ छनाक "hissing sound."
„ झडाक "speed," "hurry" (literally "being swept along," from झाडना "to sweep").
„ लडाक "quarrelsome."

Most of these have also a form with the long final *â*, as झडाका, लडाका, and it is difficult to distinguish them from formations in which the long *â* represents the causal; thus पटाक and पटाका "crash," तडाक and तडाका "thud," ठनाक "clink," seem to be from the causals पटाना, तडाना, and ठनठनाना, where the final *k* represents *aka*, not *âka*; and it will be seen that the sense of agency is as much obscured in nouns of this form as it is in the cognate forms कडक, चटक, झलक, and the like, given under *aka*.

Gujarati, like Sindhi, has this form in frequent use:

उडवुं "to fly,"	उडाउ "one who makes the money fly," "a spendthrift."
टकवुं "to endure,"	टकाउ "enduring."
घडवुं "to shape,"	घडाउ "that may be shaped or moulded."
चडवुं "to be mounted,"	चडाउ "rideable" (a horse).

लढवुं "to fight,"	लढाउ "fighter."
वडवुं "to quarrel,"	वडाउ "quarrelsome" (this word is rare).
तपवुं "to be hot,"	तपाउ and तवाउ "hot-tempered," "irritable."

The only one of the above which can be referred to *uka* with a causal is उडाउ; the others have no causal sense, but are either agents, or adjectives with a secondary meaning, and in one or two cases even, as, for instance, in घडाउ, चडाउ, the meaning is passive, like that of the Latin part. in *-ndus*, as *faciendus*, etc.

(5). *úka* is a rare termination in Sanskrit, and is not traceable in any of the modern languages except Marathi and Gujarati, and in the former its presence is to be ascribed more to the habit which this language possesses, of lengthening the final syllable, concerning which see § 50.

Instances are the following :

चुणूक "sample," "taste,"	Skr. चूण "to select."
वेडूक "frog,"	,, मण्डूक, *i.e.* मण्ड् + ऊक.
जाचणूक "teasing,"	from जाचवुं "to tease," Skr. याच्.
अठवणूक "remembering,"	,, अठववुं "to remember" (perhaps Skr. अव with स्था in sense of "abiding").
जागरूक "wakeful,"	Skr. *id.*, from जागृ + ऊक.
अडवणूक "stopping,"	from अडववुं "to stop."

As this suffix is especially used in forming diminutives, it will be more appropriately considered under the head of secondary formations.

A Gujarati instance, written with the short *u*, is वर्त्तणुक "carriage," "deportment," "behaviour," from वर्त्तवुं "to behave," but this is evidently a modern word, probably borrowed from Marathi, and bringing with it the ण of the Marathi infinitive, which has no place in G. itself. If we derive वर्त्तणुक from वर्त्तवुं, we must treat the ण as part of the suffix, as Taylor

does, which is erroneous. It is really वर्त्तण + ऊक. Moreover, the form of the word with the combination र्त्त is that of a very modern Tadbhava, and the meaning is one of a somewhat secondary kind, so that, all things considered, the word can hardly be admitted as genuine Gujarati; and as I find no other example of the kind, I am induced to conclude that this suffix is, except in Tatsamas, confined to Marathi.

§ 10. The last of the *-a* stems is *tra*. Words formed with this suffix indicate the instrument. In the majority of instances the र goes out, leaving only the *t* (see examples in Vol. I. p. 337). Some words, however, preserve both letters by splitting the nexus, and Sindhi, as a rule, substitutes ट, which is pronounced *tr*, and as such is to be regarded merely as a peculiar method of writing. This class contains a large number of common words, some of which are extant in two forms, the earlier Tadbhava and the later Tatsama; thus, while मंच, तंच, जंच are in common use, Chand invariably writes यंत, तंत, मंत, and from the Saptaçatakam we know that the *r* was dropped as early as Prakrit. Sindhi has a class derived from the stems in this suffix when preceded by *i* and forming इच, in Sindhi ॼटु or इटु; thus:

वाजटु "a musical instrument," verb वजणु "to sound."
वहिटु "a beast of burden," „ वहणु "to carry."

But there are not, I believe, any parallel instances in other languages, except those already given in the First Volume.

§ 11. Much interest attaches to the stem which comes next in our list, both on account of the widespread and deepseated ramifications which it exhibits, and because one of its developments is of the highest importance in the elucidation of the mystery of genders in some of the languages. The suffix in question is technically known as टाप्; but its effect is to add

आ *â* to the root of a verb, so as to produce abstract nouns, or nouns denoting the idea involved in the verb; as ईह् "to endeavour," ईहा "effort." Closely connected with it is अङ्, also leaving आ, which only differs from टाप् in the class of verbs to which it is added, a distinction not at all important to our present inquiry, and not of very much moment even in Sanskrit. The Pandits, being rather oppressed with the amount of idle time on their hands, have employed themselves in multiplying useless distinctions, which in this busy age we are forced to disregard. The suffix *â*, whether technically classed as टाप् or अङ्, is practically the feminine suffix of the majority of nouns whose masculines in *a* have been discussed in the preceding sections. It is important, however, to note that Sanskrit masculines in *a* form their feminines both in *â* and in *î*; and as the rules for the adoption of the one or the other termination are somewhat intricate, dictionary-makers in most cases add the *pratyaya* in brackets: to wit, टाप् or अङ् when the fem. is in *â*, ङीप् when it is in *î*.

In Tatsamas this suffix, of course, remains, as पूजा "worship," चिन्ता "thought," and the like. In Tadbhavas it is invariably shortened to *a*, which is, as before noted, mute for practical purposes in all the languages except Sindhi. This suppression of the long vowel is, in cases where a double consonant precedes, compensated for in the usual way by the lengthening of the preceding vowel. A few instances have been given in Vol. I. p. 182; but as the question is really one of the formation of the stem, it will be better to give a full list in this place; and as the words now quoted are of very frequent occurrence, the exhibition of a considerable number will be useful, for the sake of the individual words as much as for the rule itself. For our grammar-writers, being more of the rule-of-thumb sort of people than philologists, have, especially in Marathi, been much exercised on this point, in their endeavours to account for the fact that the majority of these words are feminine. They seem

to consider that the final consonant has been the deciding element in the matter, and lay down, or attempt to lay down, rules for each letter; as, for instance, that final ट is feminine and final ड masculine, evidently not being aware that neither ट nor ड have anything to do with the matter, but that the words in which those letters now appear as finals are derived from Skr. words ending in *â*, which has been absorbed, leaving the preceding consonant, no matter what it be, as a final; and the cause of these words being feminine is not any peculiarity inherent in the consonant, which has now, as it were by accident, become final, but results from the words having been feminine in Sanskrit and Prakrit. For the rule holds good for the modern Aryan group, as well as for their Romance and Teutonic cousins, that the gender of the ancient mother speech is faithfully preserved, in spite of all changes. In German much of the difficulty which foreigners experience in determining the gender of nouns would be removed were they better acquainted with the forms of the Old High German. "Gender was, in the older language, easily recognizable from the form and method of declension of the word itself. When once we know the full Old German inflexion of a substantive, we can have no further doubt as to its gender. In our modern speech, however, these marks of gender have to a great extent been worn away and obliterated. Compare, for instance, 'der Dorn' (masc.) and 'das Horn' (neuter), 'der Wind' and 'das Land,' 'der Vogel' and 'die Nadel,' etc., with the Gothic equivalents *thaurn-us* and *haurn*, *vind-s* and *land*, *fugl-s* and *nethla*, 'der Same' (or Samen), 'die Staude' and 'das Ende,' with the Old-High-German *samo*, *studa*, *enti*."[1] In the same way in the modern Aryan languages, our doubt as to why *dânt* should be masculine and *bât* feminine is removed when we look back to the Sanskrit *dant-as* and *vârtâ* respectively. It would be well if those who

[1] Heyse, *Lehrbuch d. Deutschen Sprache*, vol. i. p. 443. Compare also the forms of the Gothic declensions at p. 96 of the same volume.

write our Indian Dictionaries for us would put the original word in a bracket for our guidance. Unfortunately they do not usually know the original themselves.

My list, which is only a specimen, and by no means exhaustive, is as follows; it consists of Skr. feminines in *á*, irrespective of the *pratyayas* by which they are considered by native grammarians to be formed:

Skr. ऊर्णा "wool," H. ऊन, P. उन्न, S. उन, but G. ऊन is *n.*

Skr. खट्वा "bedstead," H. खट, खाट, P. खट्ट, S. खट, G. M. खाट.

Skr. गोधा "iguana," H. गोह, P. S. *id.*, G. घो.

Skr. छाया "shadow," H. छां, छांव, छांह, छाऋों, P. छां, छाउं, S. छांव, छां, G. छांय.

Skr. जंघा "leg," H. जांघ, G. M. *id.*, P. जंघ, S. जंघ.

Skr. जिह्वा "tongue," H. जीभ, P. G. M. *id.*, S. जिभ.

Skr. दूर्वा "dûb-grass," H. दूब.

Skr. द्राक्षा "vine," H. दाख, P. *id.*, S. डाख.

Skr. निद्रा "sleep," H. नींद, P. *id.*, S. निंड, G. नींद, M. नीद, नीज.

Skr. पीडा "pain," H. पीड, Old-H. पीर, P. पीड, also and in the rest पीडा.

Old Hindi confounds ड and र; thus Chand writes:

को जानि मात विंझनी पीर ॥
सौति की साल सालै सरीर ॥

"Who knows, O mother! the pain of a barren woman?
The dart of a rival wife pierces the body!"—*Pr. R.* i. 178.

Skr. माता "mother," Old-H. मात, as in the line above quoted, ordinarily मा, माई and माउ.

Skr. माला "garland," M. and G. माळ.

Skr. रक्षा "ashes," H. राख, P. G. M. *id.*, S. रख.

Skr. रण्डा "widow," H. रांड, G. M. O. B. *id.*, P. रंड, S. रन (see Vol. I. p. 299).

Skr. रेखा "streak," रेख, P. G. *id.*, M. रेघ, रेह.

The Sindhi रेह means the first *streak* of down on the cheeks of a young man, and may be derived from रेखा, in the same sense that the Persian and Urdu poets use خط "line" in the sense of whiskers or moustache. Thus, to take an illustration from a popular Indian poet, Wali says:

آرسي کي هاتهہ سون ڈرتا هي خط
چور کون هي خَوف چوکيدار کا

"The moustache fears the mirror,
As the thief fears the watchman." [1]

Skr. लज्जा "shame," H. लाज, G. M. O. and Old-B. *id.*, P. लज्ज, S. लज़. The form लज्जा is also in common use.

Skr. लत्ता "kick," H. लात, B. O. M. G. *id.*, P. लत्त, S. लत, B. also लाथ.

Skr. वल्गा "rein," H. बाग, and so in all.

उलटी जु राज पृथिराज बाग ॥
थकि सुर गिग्गन धर धसत नाग ॥

"When Prithirâj the King turned rein,
The heavens stood still, the earth trembled, and the earth-serpent."
—Chand, *Pr. R.* xx. 33.

(सुर is for स्वर् "heaven," गिग्गन = गगन "sky," धर = धरा "earth," धसत = ध्वंशत् "falling to pieces," and नाग is the serpent Sheshnâga, who supports the earth on his head; or we may take धर and नाग to be separated parts of a compound धरनाग "the earth-serpent.")

Skr. वार्त्ता "speech," H. बात, P. G. *id.*, M. also, but rare, S. बाति.

Skr. विल्वा "ægle marmelos," H. बेल, P. M. B. O. *id.*

Skr. शय्या "bed," Old-H. सज्या, H. सेज, P. *id.*, G. M. शेज.

[1] Page 8, line 13, of M. Garcin de Tassy's beautiful edition of Wali (Paris, 1834).

Skr. शाला "hall," H. साल, P. सार, G. M. शाळ, B. O. (vulgarly) शाल.

Skr. शिला "stone," H. सिल, P. सिळ, S. सिर, M. शीळ, B. शिल, O. शिळ.

This word in the modern languages is generally restricted to the meaning of a peculiarly shaped flat stone on which spices are ground for the native dish "curry." In Sindhi, however, it means a "brick."

Skr. शुण्डा "elephant's trunk," H. सूंड, P. सुंड, S. सूंढि, M. शुंडा, G. B. O. शुंड, G. also सुंड and सुंढ.

Skr. संध्या "evening," H. सांझ, P. संझ, S. सांझी, संझा, but also संझी, G. सांज, M. *id.*, B. O. सांझ.

Nearly all of the words in the above list retain the feminine gender throughout all the languages; but this point will be more fully dwelt on in the next chapter (see § 36).

Besides words of the class given above, there is an extremely numerous class consisting of abstract nouns, which may be formed at will from infinitives of all verbs by dropping the final syllable, and they then convey the sense inherent in the verb. Thus in Hindi मारना "to beat," and मार "a beating." Thus they say मुझ को बडी मार मारा "he beat me a great beating." It would not be correct to say that these abstract nouns were derived from the infinitive; on the contrary, in respect of formation, they stand on the same level with it. The original Sanskrit root पीड्, for instance, forms two nouns; by adding अङ् (आ) it forms the abstract पीडा "pain," and by adding युच् or ल्युट् (अन) it forms पीडनं "the act of paining"; from the former we get पीड "pain," from the latter, पीडना "to pain," infinitive of the verb.[1]

[1] See § 9, (1), (β), feminines in *ak*.

Some few of the commoner pairs of words may here be set down.

Hindi	मार "a beating,"	मारना "to beat."
„	दौड "a running,"	दौडना "to run."
„	भूल "an error,"	भूलना "to err."
„	चढ "a rising,"	चढना "to ascend."
„	अटक "a stopping,"	अटकना "to be stopped."

It is these abstract nouns which are used with a long list of auxiliary verbs to make the compound verbs so common in all the seven languages, as मार डालना "to kill," चढ बैठना "to mount upon a seat," and the like. In Sindhi all the verbs are capable of being used as abstract nouns by the rejection of the final syllable of the infinitive: as in these instances from Trumpp.[1]

जाग् "wakefulness,"	जागणु "to be awake."
महँ "pardon,"	महँणु "to pardon."
सघ "strength."	सघणु "to be strong."

In Marathi also there are numerous abstract nouns of this sort, with which may be joined the corresponding words in Gujarati.

M. लाग "adherence,"	लागणें "to adhere."	G. लाग and	लागवुं.
„ भर "fullness,"	भरणें "to fill."	„ भर „	भरवुं.
„ चाल "motion,"	चालणें "to move."	„ चाल „	चालवुं.
„ धाव "running,"	धावणें "to run."	„ धाव „	धाववुं (poet.).

Instances may also be found in quantities in the other languages, but it is unnecessary here to adduce them. The formation of these abstract nouns in some cases necessitates the lengthening of the radical vowel of the root, and in cases where that vowel is *i* or *u*, it is changed into the guna vowel.

[1] *Sindhi Grammar*, p. 46.

This process is more clearly seen in Sindhi than in the other languages; thus we have—

झाट "snatching," झटणु "to snatch."
भोल "error," भुलणु "to err."

Thus also in Hindi, where the verb लगना corresponds to an abstract noun लाग, and चलना to चाल; भिदना to भेद; and झुकना to झोक. As usual in these languages, there are very many of these abstract nouns which it is difficult to trace back to any Sanskrit root; the principle, however, is the same in all: when once established in the popular mind, it was by degrees extended to words in which it had no business to appear.

§ 12. The group of stems ending in *i* consists principally of *i*, *ni*, and *ti*. The former added to verbs composes abstracts or appellatives; but the final short *i* is in most cases rejected in the modern languages, except Sindhi. Thus, taking all three suffixes together:

Skr. अग्नि "fire," H. आग, M. G. *id.*, P. अग्गा, B. आगिन and आगुन, S. आगि, O. णिअ for अग्निअ.

Skr. हानि "hurt," H. हान, S. हाणि, G. *id.* and हानी, M. हाण.

Skr. भूमि "earth," H. भूम, भूईं, भूं, P. *id.* and भोईं, S. भू, भूइं, G. भू, भोय, भूय, M. भूय, B. भूम, O. *id.* and भूईं.

Skr. रात्रि "night," H. रात, P. G. M. *id.*, S. राति, B. O. राति and रात.

See also examples in Vol. I. p. 315, as मुष्टि, यष्टि, दृष्टि, and the like.

Skr. गीति "song," H. गीत, and so in all, but S. गीतु (*m.*).

Skr. जाति "caste," H. जात, and so in all, but S. B. O. जाति.

Skr. स्मृति "memory," H. P. सुरत.

Skr. मति "opinion," H. मत, P. *id.*, and so in all, though मति is used in literature.

In this class also the gender depends upon that of the Sanskrit, and has nothing to do with the consonant which may happen to be left final by rejection of the vowel.

In Sindhi there is a class of words, not very extensive, formed with the suffix *ti*, which expresses abstract nouns, having also a verb of the same meaning. Trumpp's instances (Gr. p. 49) are:

खपति "expense," verb खपणु "to spend."
वणति "pleasure," „ वणणु "to please."
चड़ति "remission," „ चड़णु "to remit" (Old-H. चंडना, Mod.-H. चोडना).
हलति "behaviour," „ हलणु "to go."

So also the double noun आवति जावति (literally, "coming and going") "income and expenditure."

In the other languages the short final *i* is generally rejected; when retained, it is mostly lengthened to *î*. An example of the former is the curious H. word आढत or अढत, which now means "brokerage," "commission." This occurs in Chand. I. 3, in the form आढति, and with the meaning probably of "increase." There is no modern verb from which it can be derived; but it is perhaps to be referred to the Skr. root ऋध् *ṛidh*, "to increase," through a form अर्ढति. In the other languages the corresponding word is S. आड़त (*f.*), G. आडत (*f.*), M. अडत, O. B. आडत.

With long *î* we have—

H. P. चढती "profit," "rise of prices," from चढना "to rise," M. *id.*, G. चढती "rise," "advance," S. चड़हति, O. चढति, B. *id.*

H. लगती "assessment," from लगना "to be attached," M. लगत, G. लगत (*f.*) "intimacy," S. लग़ति, B. O. लागति, लागित.

H. चलती "movement," from चलना "to move," M. *id.* "influence," P. चल्लती, S. चलति "custom," "habit," O. चलति, B. *id.*

H. P. बसती "settlement," from बसना "to dwell," M. वसति, G. वसती,

S. वसंदी, with totally uncalled for *anuswara* and softening of त to द, probably induced by a belief that the word was the feminine of the present participle active, as in English "a dwelling," O. वस्ति, B. *id.*

H. भरती "filling," "completion,"[1] from भरना "to fill," P. *id.*, M. भरती, G. *id.*, S. भर्ती, O. B. भर्त्ती.

The words of this form are not, however, universally composed by the addition of the suffix ति; for instance, H. धरती "the earth," is from Skr. धरित्री "the supporter." This suffix is commonly, but erroneously, added to Persian words, as کمتی "deficiency," from کم "less." Here may also be mentioned those two excessively common vulgarisms "*jâsti*" and "*parwasti*," so perpetually in the mouths of the lower classes. *Parwasti*, meaning "protection," "favour," is used instead of the correct Persian پَروَرِش *parwarish*, and is perhaps derived from the participle پروَستہ *parwasta*, "protected." But "*jâsti*," which is used instead of زیادہ *ziyâda*, "more," defies analysis; and I have never heard any attempt to account for it: it is perhaps in some way corrupted from زیادتي *ziyâdati*.

The labial vowel is found throughout every branch of these languages in strict parallelism to the palatal, here also it is so; there are stems in *u*, *nu*, *tu*, and *ru*. They present, however, no particularly noteworthy peculiarities. Common examples are as follows:

Skr. विन्दु "a drop," H. बूंद, बुंदा, बिंदी, P. बुंद, S. बुंडो, बूंद, M. बुंद, बूंद, G. बुंद, बुंदि, B. O. बिंदी.

Skr. वायु "wind," H. बाव, बाई, B. बाओ, O. बाअ, M. वाव, G. वा, वाइ, S. P. वाउ.

Skr. बाहु "arm," H. बांह, P. S. *id.*, G. बांहि, M. *id.* and बाहु, B. O. बाह.

[1] Vulgarly used for "enlisting in a regiment," "engaging in a service," with करना when used of the person who hires or engages the soldier, and with होना when speaking of the soldier himself.

The general rule for these groups is that the final short vowel is in a majority of cases rejected by all the languages except Sindhi; and when retained, is generally lengthened. Cases occur in which *î* is substituted for *u*, as in *bindî* for *vindu*. Of the common suffix अतु or आतु, I treat in § 16, because there are some peculiarities in its use which render it both uncertain in origin and partial in application. None of these suffixes are used in the modern languages as additions to verbal roots, so that they do not come under the head of genuine modern primaries.

§ 13. As in the case of words ending with the short vowels of the labial and palatal organs, there is a tendency to lengthen in order to preserve them, it is natural that the nouns ending in the corresponding long vowels should, as a rule, retain them. Long ई् is the termination of a number of different classes, which will be detailed in § 18 (1), and in the next chapter (see Chap. II. § 33), where the subject comes more fully under discussion with reference to gender. Long ऊ *ú* is represented in

Skr. वधू "wife," H. वहू, P. बोहू, M. S. वहू, B. O. वऊ, वउ, G. वहु; these three, being careless of quantity, shorten the vowel.

The monosyllable भ्रू "eyebrow," undergoes considerable changes, as H. भौं, P. भौंह. S. introduces its favourite *i* in भिरूं, while O., on the other hand, inserts *u* in भुरू. G. भवुं, M. भंवई् and भोंवई् are probably derived from some formative, rather than from भ्रू itself. भू "earth," has been illustrated above, under भूमि (§ 12).

§ 14. The termination ऋ of a large class of nouns in Sanskrit, where it is preceded by त, represents an older form आर्, the र of which, though rejected in the Sanskrit nominative, still survives in such Old-Hindi forms as करतार "a doer," and is found

in all the oblique cases of the Sanskrit noun. At p. 165 of Vol. I. these words were somewhat cursorily noticed. It may therefore be as well to examine the whole subject more fully here.

As the noun in all the modern languages takes its form from the nominative case of Sanskrit, and omits entirely the grammarian's fiction of a separate base-form, it would be expected that in this class of stems the groundwork would be the nominative in *á*, as कर्ता; but this is the case, strictly speaking, only in Tatsamas. The large and important class of words denoting relationship and professions exhibits numerous different forms.

In Prakrit there are several systems; the simplest and commonest is the substitution of *âro* for *ṛi*, as भत्तारो "husband," Skr. भर्त्तृ. In this case the Prakrit merely perpetuates the true old Aryan nominative, rejecting the corruption which has taken place in classical Sanskrit into *ṛi*. From the analogy of the cognate forms in allied languages we see this, as Latin *datōr*, Greek δωτήρ, which postulate a Skr. *dâtâr*; the final *o* in Pr. arises from its custom of requiring a vowel-ending, which leads it to attach a vowel to Skr. nouns ending in a consonant (Var. iv. 6, 8), or to reject the final consonant itself. From this form arises the Old-Hindi form करतार quoted above, still in use in modern Panjabi करतार and S. कर्तार्.

Prakrit follows the Sanskrit in shortening the vowel in the familiar and much used words denoting relationship, पितृ "father," भ्रातृ "brother," जामातृ "son-in-law," which stand for पितर्, भ्रातर्, जामातर्, respectively, as is shown by their making in the other cases पितरम्, not पितारम्, etc. Thus also, while Lat. has *datōr*, *datōrem*, it has *patēr*, *patrem*; and Greek δωτήρ, δωτῆρα, but πατήρ, πατέρα, and πατρὸς; Prakrit has पित्तरो, भात्तरो, जामात्तरो (Var. v. 45). In these words, however, there is also the contracted form पित्ता, भात्ता, and this is apparently the only form permissible in the corresponding

feminine मातृ (मातर्) "mother," which makes माआ. This latter is the form in use in Pali, as पिता, माता, भाता.[1] In the oblique cases comes out a form in *u*, thus

Nom. Plural	भत्तुणो	for Skr.	भर्त्तारः.
Instr. Sing.	भत्तुणा	„	भर्त्रा.
Loc. Plural	भत्तूसु	„	भर्तृषु (Var. v. 33).

This rule is not extended by Vararuchi to nouns of relationship, though in Pali the *u* form occurs in the genitive sing. and plur. as पितुस्स, भातुस्स,[2] pl. पितूनं, भातूनं, etc.

There are then in the mediæval or Prakrit stage three types of this class of nouns: first, that in *âro*, shortened in nouns of relationship to *aro*; second, that in *â*; third, that in *u*. No one of these forms runs through the whole series, or is found in every case of the noun, except perhaps the first. When discussing the phonetic changes of ऋ (Vol. I. p. 159), it was shown that though this vowel migrates into *u* but rarely, and principally in words which already have a labial consonant adjoining or preceding the vowel, yet, that in the modern, and probably to a great extent in the mediæval languages also, it was often pronounced as *ru*, so that we might expect to find this formation in *u* somewhat common in the modern languages. The Pali forms *pitu*, *bhâtu*, etc., may thus be taken to have arisen from *pitru*, the vulgar pronunciation of *pitṛi*, though it is also possible to derive them from *pitaru*, shortened from *pitaro*. This latter derivation is, however, rendered less probable by the fact that Pali has this nominative in *u* for words which retain the older and fuller form *âro*, as *kattu*, for कर्तृ "doer;" *satthu*, for शास्तृ "ruler," where the elision of the long vowel would seem to be too violent a supposition.

[1] Grammaire Palie de Kaccâyana, par. M. E. Senart, Journal Asiatique, sixth ser. vol. xvii. p. 220. It is Kaccâyana's second chap. on nouns, rule 39.

[2] Ib. ii. 40.

In the modern languages the termination *u* or *ú* is common. Examples are :

Skr. पितृ "father," P. S. पिउ, and occasionally in Old-H.
Skr. मातृ "mother," P. माऊ, माउं, मांउ, माई, मा, S. माउ.
Skr. भ्रातृ "brother," P. भाउ, भाऊ, S. भाउ, M. भाऊ.
Skr. नप्तृ "grandson," M. नातू, H. नाती.

The other languages, however, have ई in some cases, as in H. भाई, नाती, etc. The word for a "barber" may be introduced here. In classical Skr. its form is नापित, but this is said to be from an older form नापिता for स्नापिता (स्नापितृ), agent of causal of स्ना, in the sense of "to cleanse."[1] It becomes नाऊ in M., but नाई in all the other languages, except B. and O., which retain the form नापित. Marathi, Sindhi, and Panjabi are, it will be seen, the languages which mostly affect this form in *u*. Hindi generally exhibits that in *i* or *â*. It is followed in most in the word below. Skr. पूजयितृ "worshipper," H. पूजारी, and so in all, M. also पुजारा, and S. पुजारो. The latter is referred by Trumpp, erroneously as I think, to the suffix *âru* (see § 15). The Prakrit form would, we may suppose, be पूजेआरो or पूजइआरो.

This is again one of those cases where confusion arises from three or four different pratyayas, whose forms were quite distinct in Sanskrit, having by phonetic changes all come to have the same form in the modern languages. Thus a word ending in *u* or *ú* may either come from the pratyaya *u*, as *kâru*, "a doer," or from *uka*, as *kâtú*, "cutter," or from *ûka*, as *jâjarú*, "watchful," or from *ṛi*, as *nâtú*, "grandson." It is not possible in each case to decide which of these terminations is the true one; and in many cases it may be safely asserted, that

[1] In all the ceremonies of the Hindu religion in the present day a preliminary shaving by the barber is a necessary part of the purification which must be undergone by the celebrant.

u or *û* having come to be considered the usual termination for a large class of words of agency, the vulgar tacked it on to all sorts of words, as was seen a few pages back in the case of G. खरचु, where it is added on to the foreign word خرچ, without any regard to the hybrid nature of the word thus produced. This habit is common to all languages, and may be paralleled by instances in our own, as "starvation," where a Latin termination has been unceremoniously tacked on to a Teutonic verb "starve" (M. H. G. *sterben*). It will not be necessary therefore to pursue this question any further.

In the majority of instances the modern languages have formed words of this class from the Sanskrit nom. in *â*, and in these cases there is nothing remarkable to notice. Such words are for the most part Tatsamas, and do not therefore enter into the current speech of the people very largely.

§ 15. The dissyllabic suffixes in Skr. are *athu*, *âlu*, and *ishṇu*. The first does not seem to have left any traces in primary stems, though under various modifications it appears as the foundation of secondary stems in several languages.

The second, *âlu*, is extremely common, both as a primary and secondary. An allied suffix is *âru*, and from the close connexion between the two, it comes to pass that a form with a cerebral *ḷ* is in general use in the dialects which possess that letter. Instances of primary words, according to the view of the Indian grammarians, are the following; though they seem to make into primaries, by deriving them from almost imaginary verbs, many words which are strictly secondaries derived from nouns. As I said before, it is not worth while to stick very closely to this division.

निद्रालु "sleepy," H. निद्रालु, S. निड़ारो, G. निद्राकु, M. निद्राळू, B. O. निद्रालु (rare).

दयालु "merciful," H. B. P. O. दयालु and दयाल, M. दयाळ, दयाळू, G. *id.*, S. डयालु.

This termination is of frequent occurrence, and is one of those which are attached to all sorts of words, without regard to origin. The common, and often noticed rule holds good here also, that when a people have once got to feel that a certain termination carries a certain meaning, they extend its use to all words in their language. Thus, from modern verbal roots come the following:

Verbal root झगड "quarrel," H. झगडालु "quarrelsome," M. G. झगडाळू, P. B. O. झगडालु.

Verbal root डर "fear," H. डरालु "fearful."

Sindhi, as usual, changes *l* to *r*:

घोरारो } "pedlar," verb घोरणु "to seek."
घोरारू }

पिञारो "cotton-carder," „ पिञणु "to card."

Marathi is particularly rich in words of this type, such as

कन्हवाळू "pitiful," verb कन्हणें "to moan."
खाजाळू "itching," „ खाजणें "to itch."

A long string of them will be found under secondary formations.

The third suffix, *ishṇu*, is of very rare occurrence even in Sanskrit, and I have not observed any words which can be referred to it in the modern languages.

With regard to अन्, वन्, मन्, and इन्, there is also very little to be said. The first three are similar in treatment. Masculines of this stem form their nominative in *â*, neuters in *a*, the modern languages accept the nom. as their type. Thus राजन् "king," nom. राजा, which is the form in use in all the moderns. Instances are:

Skr. नामन् "name," nom. नाम, H. नाम्, and so in all.

Skr. जन्मन् "birth," nom. जन्म, H. जनम्, P. जनम्, जम्मण्.

Skr. पर्व्वन् "festival," nom. पर्व्व, H. परब्, P. B. O. *id.*, M. G. पर्व, S. पिर्भु.

Skr. दामन् "rope," nom. दामा, H. दाम, दाव, and so in all.
Skr. चर्मन् "skin," nom. चर्म, H. चाम, चरम्, and so in all.
Skr. प्रेमन् "love," nom. प्रेम, H. प्रेम, पेम, and so in all.

Nouns in इन् form their nominative in ई, in which they are regularly followed by the moderns. As this suffix will be more fully discussed in several other places, I omit instances from this section.

§ 16. The stems, or themes, or bases, for all three terms are used by various authors, hitherto discussed, are all distinctly traceable to Sanskrit stems. But there are in the modern languages, with their rich and varied development, numerous classes of nouns whose terminations point to a common source, which yet cannot always be distinctly referred, in a manner admitting of no doubt, to either a Sanskrit or Prakrit original. Others again there are, which, though they can in some instances be brought back to Sanskrit, are only of partial application, being found in some languages, and not in others. It must be remembered that it is only in one language out of the group that any attempt has yet been made to classify or analyze these formations. In the rest the grammarians simply give rules for the declension of nouns, without troubling themselves to explain how the body of the word was formed. Only in Sindhi have the valuable labours of Dr. Trumpp put me in a position to understand the formation of the noun in this least known of all the group. Often from this exhaustive work light has shone into all the languages, and I cannot too often or too fully acknowledge my obligations to it. It follows, however, from what I have just said, that it is impossible at present for any one writer to carry out to the full the somewhat minute system of classification that has been observed in the foregoing easily recognized classes. The Indian languages in this respect fully establish a right to be considered the equals of their

Romance cousins, in the number, variety, and expressiveness of the derivatives which they have formed out of their own native resources. Frequently, too, they have adopted a form of noun from Sanskrit, and finding it useful and convenient, have extended the principle to their own Tadbhava or Desaja verbs, so that we know them only to be primaries from the existence of such verbs. All the forms that I have as yet come across I now group together in this section.

(1). ई is affixed to causals to denote "the wages or cost of doing anything."

Hindi धोना "to wash," causal धोलाना, nom. धोलाई "art of washing," M. धुलाई.

Hindi ढोना "to carry," causal ढोलाना, nom. ढोलाई "cost of carriage."

Hindi वटना "to twist ropes," caus. वटाना, nom. वटाई "hire for making ropes."

Hindi गढना "to beat out," caus. गढाना, nom. गढाई "hire for making ornaments of gold and silver."

Writers on Marathi grammar tell us that this form is only used in words of Hindi origin; but it may fairly be doubted if there be in Marathi any such thing as a word of Hindi origin. Molesworth—although he sometimes incloses in brackets the corresponding Hindi word after a Marathi one—guards his readers against supposing that the Hindi word is the original, and tells us that he merely puts down the Hindi, because it is the same as the Marathi, leaving it an open question which is the original. It is more consonant with what we know of the relations between these languages to suppose that both formed these words independently from the Prakrit. This view is further strengthened by the fact that a similar form exists in more or less frequency in all the languages of the family, except Sindhi, which expresses the idea of "wages" or "ex-

penses" by a form in ણી or ાણી, as mentioned in § 6. Bengali and Oriya have numerous instances of this form, as ઢોલાઈ "cost of carriage," but in O., from some forgetfulness of the original meaning, we often hear the phonetic expression ઢોલાઇ ખર્ચ or ઢોલાઇ ટંકા. Panjabi sometimes inserts a વ, owing to the existence of this semivowel in its causal, and the same practice prevails in rustic Hindi, as ચરાના or ચરવાના "to graze cattle;" P. H. ચરાઈ or ચરવાઈ "wages of a herdsman or shepherd;" P. ઢવાઈ "cost of pulling down a building," from ઢવાના "to demolish;" પિસાઈ "wages for grinding," from પિસાઉણા "to cause to grind," and many others. G. also exhibits numerous words of this type, but also expresses the idea by a form in મણ, the મ of which arises from વ, as in પામવું "to find," H. પાઉના (Skr. પ્રાપણં). In ચરામણ "wages of a herdsman," the older form would be ચરાવણ, which is analogous to the Sindhi form in ણી, mentioned above.

(2). ઉ is employed after causals to denote an act of any kind, and is frequently written વ. In many cases the sense would point to a derivation from the simple verb, and in these cases we must treat the termination as આઉ, and derive it by means of the Skr. affix અતુ or આતુ, the ત of which is preserved in Sindhi, but changed into ટ according to the genius of that language, and takes a feminine in *i*, probably from the *u* having been regarded as the ordinary Sindhi masc. nom. of *a*-stems, and not, as it really is, an organic portion of the suffix. Sindhi, however, in a few instances, rejects the ત, thus coming more into conformity with the other languages.

Verbal root અટકા "stop," H. અટકાવ, P. અટકાઉ, S. *id.*, G. અટકાવ, M. *id.* and અટકાવા.

Verbal root ખેંચ "pull," H. ખિચાવ, P. ખિચાઉ.

Verbal root ગલા "cause to melt," H. ગલાવ, P. ગઢાઉ.

Verbal root ઘિસા "rub," H. ઘિસાવ.

Verbal root घुमा "whirl" (active), H. घुमाव, P. घुमाउं.[1]

Verbal root चढ "ascend," H. चढाव "act of ascending," "rise," P. चडहाउ, S. *id.*, G. चडाव, M. *id.*, but rare.

Verbal root चरा "cause to graze," H. चराव, O. चरा.

Verbal root छिपा "to conceal," H. छिपाव.

Verbal root पड "fall," "alight," H. पडाव "encamping-ground," P. G. *id.*, M. *id.* and पडांव, O. पडा.

Verbal root विक "be sold," H. विकाव "sale," O. विका.

Formations of this class are so common in Hindi, that it may be said that every verb in the language may give rise to such a noun. They are less common in the other languages. In Sindhi the examples, besides those given above, are

घरटु "surrounding," verb घरणु "to surround."
चिमकाटु "jingling," „ चिमकणु "to jingle."
भुणिकाटु, भुणिकाउ "humming," „ भुणिकणु "to hum."

Owing to the fact that Sindhi, when it omits the ट, as ऋटकाउ, भुणिकाउ, writes the final vowel as उ, it is at times difficult to distinguish words of this class from those derived by the suffix ऋकु, as noted in § 9 (4). The only distinction is that the latter class makes the *u* long. In Gujarati, where the distinction between long and short *u* is very seldom observed, the difficulty of distinguishing is still greater. Fortunately, however, G. frequently writes words of the present class, like H., with व. They are not very common in G. Besides those given above, I find also—

ठराव "determination," "certainty," verb ठरावvुं "to determine."
मचाव "stirring up (a quarrel)," „ मचावvुं "to stir up."

[1] In special sense of a measure of land, originally as much as could be ploughed in a day, from the bullocks *turning* at each end of the furrow, much as we use the word "turn" in such expressions as "a day's turn of work;" a *ghumâu* would be "a turn of the plough."

This termination is rare in Marathi, though the syllable आव is used in the formation of secondary verbs; and it seems also foreign to the genius of B. and O. The few words that are to be found appear to have been borrowed in comparatively modern times from Hindi, such as B. चडाओ, O. चढाउ, "an attack," H. चढाव; and O., as in the instances चरा, पडा, बिका, given above, generally drops the final व or उ.

(3). Probably connected with the last-mentioned is the very common Hindi form in आवट, with allied forms आहट, आट. The fact that many of these words imply sounds of various kinds has led to the supposition that they arise from compounding the verb with the noun आहट "noise," "sound," but this is not altogether probable. It might rather be conjectured that the process is just the reverse, and that आहट is a mere onomatopoetic word derived from the termination, on account of its having some resemblance to the sound. The word is used to express principally light and repeated noises, as "tap-tap," "pit-a-pat," and the like. The two forms, that with व and that with ह, often exist in the same word. Instances are—

Hindi खिसलाहट "slipperiness," खिसलाना "to cause to slip;" खिसियाहट "fretfulness," खिसियाना "to vex;" खुजलाहट "itching," खुजलाना "to itch;" घबराहट "confusion," घबराना "to be confused;" घुलावट "melting," घुजाना "to melt" (active); चमकावट, चमकाहट "splendour," चमकाना "to cause to glitter;" चुनावट "plaiting," चुन्ना "to plait;" छुहावट "touch," छुहना "to touch;" झनझनाहट "tinkling," झनझनाना "to tinkle;" झुंझलाहट "whining," झुंझलाना "to whine," "fret;" झुकावट "stooping," झुकाना "to stoop." तडफडाहट "fluttering," तडतडाहट "trickling," तंतनाहट "tingling," फडफडाहट "throbbing," are all formed from verbs of the same sound.

There is a very large class of these words in Hindi, both in *âhaṭ* and *âwaṭ*, as well as contracted into आट, as तुडवाट "breakage," from तुडवाना "to cause to break." These forms

all run into one another to so great an extent that it is very difficult to draw the line between them. Thus from बुझाना "to explain," we have बुझावट "the act of explaining," but also बुझौती, *i.e.* बुझावती, with the same meaning. The origin of these forms being unknown to the masses, it was natural that they should confuse any two of them which had at all a similar sound. Moreover there is some obscurity about the exact derivation of this and the preceding form in आव. The presence of long *á* does not necessarily prove that these words are taken from the causal verb in all cases. In some instances the sense leads to a derivation from the simple verb, as in चढाव, पडाव, which come from चढना, पडना, respectively, and not from चढाना, पडाना. The long vowel must therefore be assigned to the suffix, and in cases where the word has, on account of its meaning, to be referred to the causal, it appears that the two long vowels, that of the verbal root and that of the suffix, have coalesced into one, without any further lengthening.

Panjabi possesses a great number of words of this triple form, mostly identical with Hindi, as घबरावट, घबराहट, and घबराट. From the peculiar softness of Panjabi articulation, the ह in the second form would be very indistinctly heard, so that, writing according to sounds, the third form would represent more correctly than the others the spoken word. Thus the numerals इकाहट 71, बाहट 72, तेहट 73, चौहट 74, and the rest, sound generally *ikâṭ*, *bâṭ*, *teṭ*, *chauṭ*. सऊरा "father-in-law" is in most districts *saurâ*. The Hindi-speaking people, on the contrary, pronounce the ह generally very clearly and distinctly, perhaps rather overdoing it; so that they would naturally retain the forms in आहट, and in the eastern Hindi area आवट, where Panjabi prefers the shortened form आट.

Sindhi does not appear to have any words of this form, but instances of a similar and possibly connected form will be found in § 20. Gujarati has आवत, आवट, and आट, I do not find आहट. Of the former, instances are बनावट and बनावत "fiction," बनावणुं

"to make;" चाहावट "affection," चाहावुं "to love;" of the latter, चळकाट "brilliancy," गभराट an incorrect spelling of घबराट "confusion," गडबडाट "muddle," कणकणाट "shuddering," "tingling," etc., from verbs of similar form.

Marathi generally follows ways of its own in the numerous forms of derivatives in which it abounds; in the present instance, however, it is found to be to a limited extent in accordance with Hindi. The class of words which I am at present discussing appears in M. with the terminations अट, आट; वट, वाट, and occasionally आटा. Nouns of this class are both primary and secondary; the termination, once established, having been extended by the vulgar to all sorts of words. This freedom, or rather licence of formation, is very noticeable in Marathi, which in my opinion is far richer in nominal formations than any other language of the group, and it is therefore noteworthy as a specimen of the blindness and unscientific method of the ordinary grammarians, that they either dismiss the question of stem-building without notice at all, or dispose of it in a few cursory remarks. It is really one of the most intricate and important questions of the whole subject, and if fully worked out, would demand a volume to itself.

Undoubted primary formations in M. are the following:

वट घसवट "the state of being much used or worked," "practice," "routine," verb घासणें "to rub," Skr. घर्षणं.

,, नांद्वट "residing," "state of being settled in a place," verb नांद्णें, "to dwell," Skr. नंद्नं.

,, भाजवट "act of burning the weeds before ploughing," verb भाजणें, "to parch," Skr. भर्जनं.

वाट (वहिवट / वहिवाट) "conduct," "management," verb वाहणें "to carry," Skr. वहनं.

अट करपट "burnt in cooking," verb करपणें "to be burnt," Skr. कर्पणं.[1]

[1] From कृप् in its original sense of being spoiled.

ଅଟ ଖଚରଟ "troublesome," "vexatious," "vile," verb ଖଚରିଣିଁ or ଖଚଇଣିଁ "to sink," "fail," "miscarry," Skr. ଖଚନଂ.[1]

„ ଚାବଟ "tough," "clammy," *lit.* "much chewed," verb ଚାବିଣିଁ "to chew," Skr. ଚର୍ବଣଂ.

„ ଚିଁଗରଟ "throng," "crowd," "crowded state of a street," verb ଚିଁଗରିଣିଁ "to squeeze," Skr. ——.[2]

„ ଚେପଟ "compressed," "flat," verb ଚେପିଣିଁ "to press," Skr. (Vol. I. p. 212).

ଆଟ କଚାଟ "dilemma," "scrape," "impediment," verb କଚିଣିଁ "to yield," "fail" (orig. "to be impeded"), Skr. କଂଚନଂ "binding," "restraining," "impeding."

„ ଖଡଖଡାଟ "rattling," "grating," verb ଖଡଖଡିଣିଁ "to rattle" (onomatopoetic).

„ ଗଡବଡାଟ "confusion," "bustle," "muddle," verb ଗଡବଡିଣିଁ "to be in a muddle" (Vol. I. p. 336).

„ ଘଣଘଣାଟ "a peal," "ringing," verb ଘଣଘଣିଣିଁ "to ring loudly" (onomatopoetic).

ଆଟା ହାକାଟା "bawling," "outcry," verb ହାକିଣିଁ "to call"[3] (origin uncertain).

From the above examples it will be seen that M. agrees pretty closely with H., but that in several instances the form is adjectival; this peculiarity probably arises from the looseness with which these words are employed; they were originally substantives, but have passed over into adjectives by degrees.

There are words in Oriya which end in ଅଟ୍, but I am not

[1] In the primary sense of limping, jostling, and more generally going badly or irregularly.

[2] I take this word to be a formative of a familiar character deriving its origin ultimately from the Skr. ଚି "to heap," substantive ଚୟ, perhaps with ଅଂଗ "body" added, so that we should get a word ଚୟାଂଗ for the more regular Skr. ଅଂଗଚୟ "crowd of bodies." Inversions of this sort are common in the moderns, and not unknown even in Skr.

[3] The ordinary meaning "to drive" arises from the Indian practice of driving herd by frantic shouting and calling.

prepared to affiliate them to this stem. Of words in *âhaṭ, âvaṭ*, or *âṭ*, I do not remember to have heard any, nor are there any instances in the dictionaries. The formation seems foreign to the genius of the language, as also to Bengali, though neither of these languages have had their depths searched out sufficiently yet, to enable a decided opinion to be given.

(4). Hindi possesses a range of words ending in ऐत and ऐता, which, though for the most part secondary, are also in some instances primary, though comparatively rarely so. The other languages have occasional analogous forms:

चढना "to mount," H. चढैत, चढैता "one who mounts," "a rider," P. चडहैत, चडहैंत, चडहैता "a mounted groom," "a trooper," M. चढाईत, चढायीत "horseman," "climber."

डाकना "to shout," H. डकैत "robber," B. O. डाकाइत.

The origin of this form will be discussed, together with the allied forms औत and औती, under the secondary formations to which it seems more specially to belong.

(5). A widely-spread group of stems is that in आवन, with variants औन, औना, and आन, which may possibly be connected with stems in *ana*, and differ from them only in the long vowel; while, on the other hand, the full form आवन seems to run into the pure secondary form पन, and has often a long vowel prefixed. In Bengali this form occurs as आनि, which points to the fem. अणी of other languages. I place this form among those of uncertain origin, because of the long vowel and the labial; also because, like many of the preceding stems, it occurs both as a primary and secondary in some languages. All these peculiarities throw a haze of doubt over its origin and development. Examples are as follows:

आवन { H. पहिरावन / पहिरावनी } "a garment bestowed on guests at weddings or feasts," verb पहिराना "to clothe."

" छिपावनी "cultivating land by stealth," verb छिपाना "to conceal."

आवन छावनी "thatching," "an encampment," verb छाना "to thatch."

„ चलावन / चलान "despatch of goods," verb चलाना "to cause to go."

„ वढावन "a cake of cowdung used as a charm," verb वढाना "to increase."[1]

औना खिलौना "toy" (*i.e.* खिलावना), verb खिलाना "to cause to play."

„ विछौना "bedding," verb विछामा "to spread."

„ भरौना "a load of wood," verb भराना "to cause to load."

आन छुटान "leisure," verb छुटना "to be released."

It would seem proper here also to insert the word खडांव or खडाऊं "a wooden slipper or patten," which should probably be written खडौन or खडावन, from the participle खडा "standing." It possibly owes its present shape to some fancied connexion or jingling with a पांव "foot."

Panjabi has विछाउणा "bedding," खिलौणा "toy," छाउणी "encampment," पहिनाउणी "present of clothes," and in general the same words as Hindi. In Sindhi this form is secondary only. Gujarati uses a form आमण, as पेहरामणी "dress given at a wedding;" वधामणी "congratulation," and "congratulatory gifts," verb वधाववुं "to welcome;" and a contracted form in विछानुं or °णुं "bedding." Instances of the Bengali form above quoted are विछाना "carpet," verb विछाइते "to spread;" विगडानी "spoiling," विगडाइते "to spoil;" जडानि "interlacing," "wrapping," जडाइते "to wrap," "wind;" खुसडानि "packing up," खुसडिते "to pack." Oriya being in the habit of giving a sound of *o* to short *a*, uses forms खिलना, विछना, भरना, for the H. खिलौना, etc. The few words of this kind in Marathi

[1] From its supposed efficacy in *increasing* the amount of grain in the heap on which it is placed (see Elliot's Races of North-West Provinces, vol. i. p. 235, my edition).

do not seem to be the genuine property of the language, and are in many instances undistinguishable from stems in *-ana*; they need not delay us.

§ 17. Leaving now this somewhat obscure and unsatisfactory class of words, let us go on to the secondary stems. There is a vast mass of these, and several of the purely secondary suffixes have been capriciously extended to verbs, thus bringing the words formed by them, according to our classification, under the head of primary stems. It will, however, be more convenient to treat these all as secondary, merely pointing out as they occur the instances in which they have passed over into primaries. Being all derived from nouns by the class of suffixes called Taddhita, these secondary formations fall into two great divisions: the first, those which add to a substantive or adjective a suffix which converts it into an abstract noun, descriptive of some character, occupation or quality; and the second, those which by the same process create appellatives or attributives. In this section I include only the abstract nouns.

(1). The first I shall take is the very common suffix **पन्**, with its numerous variations. This arises from the Skr. suffix **त्व**, which I have conjecturally connected with **आत्मन्** "self" (Vol. I. p. 330), and which passes into **त्वण** (also **त्तण**, Var. iv. 22), and, by the process described in the passage above cited of Vol. I., becomes **त्पण** and **प्पण**. It has many different forms in all the languages, as—

H. **पन, पना, पा.**
P. **पुण, पुणा, पण, पणा.**
S. **पणु, पणो, पो, प, पाई, पी.**
G. **पण, पणुं, पो.**
M. **पण, पणा.**
B. **पन, पाना.**
O. **पण, पणिअ.**

Examples:

Hindi. खट्टा "acid," खटापन and °पना "acidity;" उचक्का "sharper," उचक्कापना "sharper's tricks," "fraud;" छोटा "small," छुटापा "smallness;" छैल "fop," छैलपन "foppishness;" बालक "child," बालकपन "childhood" (Chand बालप्पन, *i.e.* बालपन); बडा "great," बडापा "greatness;" बूढा "old," बुढापन and °पा "old age;" लडका "boy," लडकपन "boyhood;" लुच्चा "dissolute," लुच्चापन "dissolute living;" रांड "widow," रांडापा "widowhood;" मूरख "ignorant," मूरखपन "clownishness."

Panjabi. बुढापा, बुढेपा "old age;" लडकपुणा "boyhood;" उचक्कापुणा "fraud;" मूरखपुणा "clownishness:" लुचपुणा "debauchery;" बालप्पण, °पणा, °पुण, °पुणा "childhood;" रंडेपा "widowhood;" and, peculiar to itself, कुङर "boy," कुङरपुणा and कुकुहरपुणा "boyishness;" मूडह "stupid" (Skr. मूढ), मूडहपुणा "stupidity;" छोकरा "boy," छोकरपुणा "boyhood."

Sindhi. बुढापणु, °पणो, बुढापो, बुढेपो, बुढेपाई, बुढेपी, बुढ्पणु, "old age;" रन "widow," रनापणु "widowhood;" जाल "woman," जालपणु "womanhood;" पण्डितु "pandit," पण्डितपणो "panditship;" वटु "seizing," वटुप "assistance;" वटि "near," वटिप "partiality;" नंढो "small," नंढपाई, नंढपणु, नंढेपो "youth;" वाही "watchman," वाहिपो, वाहिप "watchman's work;" कांधी "coffin-bearer," कांधिप, °पणु "duties of a kandhi;" माण्हू "man," माण्हपो, माण्हूअपणो "humanity;" मिरू "wild beast," मिरूपणो "bestiality." These are all, except one, from Trumpp, Sindhi Gr. p. 61.

Gujarati. Taylor's Grammar (p. 144) gives several examples which are not found in the dictionaries; but as the author is a resident of the province, he has probably heard the words from the people round him. Edulji's Dictionary does not apparently contain more than a third of the words in the language; and Narmada Sankar's, though much fuller, does not give all the formatives, except incidentally as explanations of some other

word. The words I have found are: घरडो "aged," घरडपण, °पणुं "old age;" अंधो "blind," अंधापणुं, °पो "blindness;" आंधळो "dark," आंधळापणुं "darkness;" रांड "widow," रंडापो "widowhood;" बुढापो, °पणुं "old age;" अवळो "inverted," अवळापणुं "invertedness;" लुच्चापणुं "dissoluteness." The word बळापो "grief," "anxiety," "torment," seems to be derived rather from the verb बळवुं "to burn" (ज्वल°) than from बळ "strength," and may be set down as an isolated instance of the use of this suffix as a primary.

Marathi. भला "good," भलेपण, °पणा "honesty;" चांगला "good," चांगलेपण, चांगुलपण "goodness;" लेंकरूं "child," लेंकुरपण, °पणा "childishness;" वाळंत "a woman in childbirth," वाळंतपण "attendance on such a woman." In M. also is the softened form वण, वाण, and a form वा, वी, वें, corresponding to the पा and पो of the other languages; as from चोर "thief," चोरवण, °वाण, °वें, and चोरवें "thievishness," or the "conduct of thieves;" लहान "small," लहानवी "smallness;" थोर "great," थोरवी "greatness;" वाईट "bad," वाईटपण "badness," says the grammar, but वाईटवाणा, °णो, says the dictionary; शहाणा "wise," शहाणपण "wisdom;" म्हातारा "old," म्हातारपण "old age." The words formed with this suffix are not given in large numbers in the dictionary, as it would appear that they can be formed at will from any adjective in the language.

Bengali. बुडापा, बुडापन "old age;" गुणपना, °पाना "talent," "virtue;" लुच्चापना "debauchery;" but the form, though occasionally heard in conversation, is not very common, as Bengali has another and commoner form in आमि for words of this class.

Oriya. Words of this form, as मूरखपन, पागलपन, are sometimes heard, but the form does not seem to be indigenous in the language, being very rarely met with. A genuine instance is भांण्ड "a rogue," भांण्ड-पणिआ "roguery;" also ब्राह्मणपणिआ "the duties or profession of a Brahman," such as studying the Shâstras, performing religious ceremonies,

and the like; निठिआपण "laziness;" विटपण for विटपपण "dissoluteness," from विटप "dissolute."

The two points to be observed in the treatment of this stem are the method of joining it to the root, and the terminations which it takes. As to the first, if regarded as a mere pratyaya or suffix, it should in the case of Tatsamas be affixed to the bare root, so that from मूर्ख we should get मूर्खपन = मूर्खत्वं, and this is what does actually happen, and so far the usage is regular. But when affixed to Tadbhava adjectives which have taken the *á* or oxytone ending, this *á* would be retained, as in बूढापन, in which case we must not consider the word as having been derived from the Skr. वृद्धत्वं, but rather thus, that the termination was regarded as a thing apart, as a sort of qualifying particle which could be appended to all adjectives at will. From the detached character acquired by this particle arises the peculiarity that it is in H. sometimes, in M. G. and S. very frequently, attached to the oblique form of the noun, because the nominative form is regarded as appropriate to that state of the noun only in which it is not subjected to any influence from without, but is either an agent or a mere indication. Directly the noun becomes subject to influences of any sort, it passes into the oblique, and the addition of the syllable पन्, or any of its variants, was regarded as subjecting the noun to an influence somewhat similar to that exercised by the case particles, and therefore demanding the oblique form. When we see the suffix added to nouns in the direct form, it would show that in these cases the form came into existence when the suffix had not yet won its detached character; and the unsettled nature of the terminations of the root in all the languages points, in confirmation of this supposition, to a time when the languages themselves were in a transitional state, and had not attained to fixity of practice.

Equally undetermined is the termination of the suffix itself.

There are first the forms H. P. M. पन (पण, पुण) and पना, corresponding to which respectively are the S. पणु and पणो. These two forms reproduce the barytone and oxytone forms of nouns, and if, with some writers, we derive the latter form from an addition of क, we should have to suppose a Skr. form त्वकं giving Pr. त्तणअं or प्पणअं; as however in words of the form सत्त्व in Skr. the accent is on the last syllable "sattwá," it may be fairly reasoned that it would remain on that syllable in Prakrit also; and as the suffix itself has been conjectured to be shortened from आत्मन्, the form in पना would be the original one, shortened as time went on into पन from forgetfulness of the accent. The uncertainty in the method of affixing this ending, which is sometimes added to the direct form of nouns, and sometimes to the oblique, and at times even to a shortened form which is neither oblique nor direct, as in Sindhi, proves that words of this type came into existence at very different periods; and in those which were created in later times the accent would naturally have been forgotten, and they would take the form पन.

Secondly, the forms पा and पो point to oxytones, and seem to be derived from some such form as प्प, omitting the ण; such a form may well have existed in spoken Prakrit, although no traces of it survive in the written works. This form would come direct from the Sanskrit त्वं, whereas that in प्पण must come from an older Skr. त्वन्.

Lastly, Sindhi has forms पाइ and पी, the final vowel of which seems to be quite inorganic, as we cannot trace it back to any corresponding peculiarity in the older forms, and is probably due to an unconscious imitation of the analogous forms ताइ and ती, which have been or will be discussed in their proper place. The Skr. word आत्मन् "self," retains the *n* in all cases of the sing. but the nom., and in this, as in so many instances in Skr. and the cognate languages, the nominative stands apart, and the derivative forms are taken from the oblique. Thus Greek and Latin,

while faithfully retaining the original type of पद् in *ποδος*, *pedis*, reject the *d* in the nominatives *πους* and *pes*; yet it is from *ποδος* and *pedis*, not from *πους* and *pes*, that the derivatives are formed, as well as the noun itself, in their modern descendants. So also *οδοντος*, *dentis*, reproduce दन्त more correctly than *οδους* or *dens*, and in derivatives and descendants the former, and not the latter, are the base. The reason of this is clear; the oblique form being used seven or eight times to once of the nominative, sticks in the popular mind, and is used in grammatical formations, while the classically modified nominative is forgotten. This was probably the case with the termination now under consideration; the vulgar would know little of an euphemistic high-flown nominative आत्मा, while they would be familiar with some ten or twelve forms having for their base आत्मन्; the Old-Hindi poets use राजन or राज, while the modern language does not begin to use the classical nominative राजा till after Pandits had begun to resuscitate the accurate form. So also, while the Brahmin wrote सत्त्वं, the people may have said सत्वन्, or even सतावन्, and thus the form त्तण or प्पण reveals itself as the older and more accurate. The त्तण type is still in existence; in Old-Hindi we have पुरुषातन "virility," from पुरुषत्तण, Skr. पुरुषत्वं, and Sindhi has from मुखी "a headman,"[1] मुखितणु, Pr. मुखत्तणं, where the S., rejecting one of the two consonants, does not, as H. would, lengthen the preceding vowel, but inserts instead its favourite short *i*. There may be other instances in the other languages, but I have not yet met with any.

Sindhi has a few rare examples of a form in आदु which

[1] Dr. Trumpp will forgive me for pointing out a slight error in his English here; he translates this word "headsman," not perhaps remembering the difference between that and "headman." The former means "an executioner," *i.e.* "one who beheads criminals." Dr. Trumpp's English is so excellent, correct, and graceful throughout as to command admiration; it is in a friendly spirit that this little slip is noticed, as it might mislead an English student. The difference between "headsman" and "headman" is slight indeed in form, but very wide in meaning.

Trumpp refers to this suffix, as छोकिराटु "boyhood," "youth," from छोकिरो "a boy;" but it is open to question whether this is not the primary affix mentioned in § 16 (2), which has passed over into a secondary form in a few cases.

As a corollary to the connexion which I see between स्वं and आत्मन्, I would here introduce the Bengali stems in आमि, which I derive from आत्म्य in such Skr. words as माहात्म्य. Oriya uses महातम as a religious word, in the sense of "celebrating the greatness or merits of" a holy place or festival, thus we have गंगा महातम the "glories of Ganga," श्री खेतर महातम "a description of the religious merits acquired by a pilgrimage to the shrine of Jagannath," and others. Bengali has elided the त and softened the य to इ. Instances are पागल "mad," पागलामि "madness;" लुचा "debauched," लुचामि "loose living;" भांड "buffoon," भांडामि "buffoonery;" गादा "an ass," गादामि "stupidity;" ठेंटा "obstinate," ठेंटामि "obstinacy;" छोंचा "greedy," छोंचामि "greediness;" छेंचडा "base," छेंचडामि "baseness;" नष्ट "profligate" (*lit.* "destroyed," compare our use of "dissipated," also the original meaning of "profligatus"), नष्टामि "profligacy." In familiar or colloquial words which end in a vowel other than *a* or *â*, the initial vowel of the suffix is elided; thus छेले "a child," छेलेमि "childishness;" फसके "an impudent boy" (French *gamin*), फसकेमि "impudence;" and in vulgar speech the favourite *u* of Bengali exercises an influence on the following vowel; thus from दुष्ट "wicked," दुष्टुमि "wickedness." By a curious caprice, also, a duplicate form is occasionally employed, as from नष्ट we get नष्टता "profligacy," and नष्टतामि. Oriya also uses this form, as बुढा "old," बुढामि "precocity in children;" ढिला "loose," "lazy," ढिलामि "laziness," "inattention," B. *id.* It will be observed that this suffix is almost universally employed in a bad sense, as expressive of stupidity, loose living, or the like. One instance, खुच्चामि, occurs occasionally in Hindi; but, with this exception, this form appears to be peculiar to the two easternmost members of the group.

(2). Of very wide use in Sanskrit is the suffix य, generally neuter when forming abstract nouns, though of all genders in appellatives. This suffix generally changes to ई in the modern languages, and in most cases the words become feminine, owing to the general use of ई to express that gender. The typical word of this class is—

Skr. चौर्य "theft," Pr. चोरिञ्, H. चोरी, and so in all, but O, चोरि. So also

Skr. स्थाग्यं "cheating" (स्थग: "a cheat"), B. ठगिञ्, H. ठगी (vulgo "thuggee"), and so in all.

This termination is extended, as usual, to words of uncertain origin, and notably to Persian words, inasmuch as that language also adopts the suffix *i* to denote abstracts; thus we have نيكي "goodness," بدي "badness," كمي "deficiency," بيشي "excess;" and even colloquially Arabic words take this ending, as منظوري "sanction," from منظور "seen," "approved." S. has also मंदी "badness," from मंदो "bad" (Skr. मन्द "slow"); भली "goodness," from भलो "good" (Skr. भद्र). In many cases, however, the final य of the Sanskrit is elided alogether, as in

Skr. भाग्यं "fortune," H. भाग, and so in all. G. retains Tatsama भाग्य and S. भागु.

Skr. धान्य "rice," H. धान, and so in all, except S. धाञु *dhānyu* or *dhāñu*.

This latter word seems to have been originally an abstract meaning "possessing," "wealth," root धा, as stores of rice were, and still are in many parts of India, the principal source of wealth to all classes.

Where, in modern formations, the adjective had acquired, as adjectives almost universally did, the termination in long *á*, the *i* of this suffix does not supersede this vowel, but is attached to it, forming *ái*. Thus we have a very large range of words in all the languages. A few are—

भला "good," H. भलाई "goodness," P. भलिआई, S. भलाई, G. M. O. *id.*, B. भालाई.

निर्मला "pure," H. निर्मलाई, and so in all.

बडा "great," H. बडाई "greatness," P. वडिआई, S. वड़ाई, G. B. O. *id.*; not in M.

ऊंचा "high," H. ऊंचाई "height," S. *id.* ("goodness"), P. उचाई, G. ऊंचाई, O. उच्चाई, B. उचाई.

This form is not very common in M., but is of almost universal application in the rest. P. anomalously inserts short *i* before the termination, but this is a dialectic peculiarity which does not prevail in all parts of the province. It has already been noticed that so many Skr. terminations fuse together into *i* in the modern languages as to render it difficult to distinguish them. The form now under consideration is restricted to abstracts, and has no connexion with any other.

(3). The Sanskrit suffix ता exists in most of the languages in a large number of words, but occurs chiefly in Tatsamas and modern Tadbhavas; so that it would be more correct to suppose that it has been resuscitated, together with the word to which it is attached, than to speak of it as having come down uninterruptedly from early times.

Skr. दृढता "firmness," H. दृढता, P. दृरिडहता, S. ड़िडहता. In the rest दृढता, generally pronounced *dṛiṛhatā* in H., and so written also in P., but in O. it sounds *druṛhatâ*.

Sindhi has a few words not strictly Tatsamas, though only slightly altered, and it occasionally adds ई, making ताई, as

घटि "deficient,"	घटिता, घटिताई, "deficiency."
जोगु "fit,"	जोगिता "fitness."

In B. and M. words of this class are extremely numerous, but are all pure Tatsamas, and as such do not strictly come within the range of development of the modern forms of speech.

(4). Another common suffix is इमन्, which is used in Bengali

in its Tatsama form, but rather among scholars than in the mouths of the people, as also in M.

रक्त "red," B. M. रक्तिमा "redness," and so in all the others, but as a rare and pedantic word.

शुक्ल "white," B. M. शुक्लिमा "whiteness," and so in all the others, but as a rare and pedantic word.

Trumpp affiliates to this suffix a large class of words in S. in आणि and आइणि, supporting his theory by allusion to Vararuchi, v. 47. This passage merely directs that certain words, such as *brahman*, *yuvan*, *adhvan*, are to be declined like *âtman*; thus, *vamhâ* makes *vamhâṇo*; *juvâ*, *juvâṇo*, etc. It is not, however, stated that this rule applies to formations in *iman*; and even granting that it does, we get *imâṇo*, the change of which into *âṇi* or *âiṇi* is not supported by any proof, and seems somewhat harsh, and opposed to the genius of the language. Moreover, in the closely allied and interchangeable form *âî*, see (2), the *â* belongs to the adjective, and is a solitary instance of the retention of the older form of the oblique, which is still long in Gujarati, as सारो "good," obl. सारा, but has been shortened in S., as अछो "white," obl. अछ. In the case, therefore, of the words about to be quoted, I should say that the suffix was merely णि or इणि, and regard it as the same as the primary suffix अन् mentioned in § 6. With this agrees the fact that the cognate languages have a form आण or आन, which is made only from adjectives in long *á*, so that the long vowel belongs to the stem, and not to the suffix. In Sindhi अछाणि "whiteness," from अछो "white," I should divide *achhá-ṇi*.

From अन, then, used as a modern suffix to adjectives which had already arrived at the stage in which they ended in long *á*, the following examples may be taken to have arisen:

H. ऊंचा "high," ऊंचान "height," P. उच्चा, उचाण, S. ऊचो "superior," ऊचाणि, G. ऊंचो, ऊंचाण.

H. चौडा "broad," चौडान "breadth," P. *id.*

H. ओंडा "deep" (Old-H. उंडा), ओंडान, उडान, "depth," G. ऊंडो, ऊंडान.

S. वेकिरो "broad," वेकिराणि "breadth."

S. वड़ो "great," वड़ाणि "greatness."

(5). स is suffixed to a large class of adjectives in Hindi, to denote condition, and agrees with our termination "-ness." This form is connected with that of the desiderative verb in Sanskrit, and some of the words of this class cannot be regarded as formed from nouns by the addition of a suffix, but are to be derived whole as they stand from Skr. The substantive in स is accompanied by an adjective in सा, as पियास or प्यास "thirst," पियासा "thirsty," which are not to be regarded as recent formations from पी, the root of पीना "to drink," but as from Skr. पिपासा and पिपासु respectively, these being the substantive and adjective from पिपास् "to desire to drink," desiderative of root पा "to drink." Skr. पिपासा loses the long final *â* of the fem. and becomes H. पियास, while पिपासु apparently takes क, and becomes पिपासुक, whence would come a Pr. पिआसुओ, and the *u* vanishes, leaving H. पिआसा. The modern words would be more accurately written पिआस and पिआसा, as the medial प has disappeared (Vol. I. p. 199). Accordingly these words in most cases bear the meaning of "desire to do a thing," even where it is impossible or difficult to trace the word to any definite Skr. desiderative like पिपास्. And in those words which we cannot refer to a Skr. desiderative, it must still be held that the form is in itself by nature desiderative, and having appropriated to itself this meaning, has been tacked on to modern nouns to form abstractions, so that in a number of instances it legitimately comes under the head we are now considering, namely, that of secondary abstract nouns. Examples are found of three classes: first, words derived direct from Sanskrit derivatives; second, those derived from modern verbs (primary stems); third, those derived from modern nouns (secondary stems).

I.

Skr. पिपासा "thirst," H. पिआस (पियास, प्यास), and so in all the languages.

II.

H. रोना "to weep," रोआस "desire to weep," "vexation," P. रुआस (rare).

H. सुतना "to urine," सुतास "desire to make water," P. *id.*

H. हगना "cacare," हगास "desire to stool," P. *id.*

III.

Skr. निद्रा "sleep" (H. नींद), H. नींदास, निन्दास, "drowsiness."

H. ऊंघ "sleepiness," ऊंघास "nodding," "incipient sleep."

H. झप "violence," H. झपास "a violent burst of rain."

H. मीठा "sweet," H. मिठास "sweetness."

Each of these words has its corresponding adjective, as पिआसा, रोआसा, सुतासा, हगासा, निन्दासा, ऊंघासा, but not झपासा; but the stem itself is almost entirely confined to Hindi and Panjabi, only rarely occurring in the other languages, as M. खटास "sourness," from खटा "sour;" मिठास "sweetness," from मिठें "sweet;" and with the short vowel गोंडस "plump," from गोंडा "a swelling;" G. धोळास "whiteness," from धोळो "white;" मीठाश "sweetness," from मीठो "sweet;" कठणाश "difficulty," from कठण "difficult," and a few more; and we may fairly assume that all the other words were modelled upon पिआसा, where the long *á* belongs to the root पा. In रोआसा we cannot look back to the desiderative of Skr., which is रुरुदिषु, which could in no way produce *roâsâ*, but would result in some such form as *ruisâ*. Skakespeare, in his Dictionary, absurdly derives these words by adding the Skr. आशा "hope," in which he is blindly followed by his faithful plagiarist Forbes. There are nouns with this termination which do not belong to this stem, as गंडासा "a pole-axe," the former part of which is probably from गांठ (Skr. ग्रन्थि) "a knot," with some derivative

of the root शो "to cut," just as परशु "an axe." The *gaurâsâ* is a formidable weapon of bamboo with iron knots and clamps on it, and a small axe at the head. We might assume a form ग्रन्थ्याशु as its origin. There is also a word मुंडासा "a small turban," the former part of which is मुंड "head," and the latter probably a derivative from वस् "to clothe," so that a form मुंडवासक may be assumed for its origin, unless, indeed, which is highly probable, the word itself grew up in modern times, and has no Sanskrit original at all.

The stems given above are the most common and widespread abstract forms. There may be in the various languages others; but they are rare and confined to special dialects, and do not require detailed notice in a work of this kind.

§ 18. The next class of secondary formations is that of adjectives denoting the possession of any article, or of any quality or tendency: the former are called possessives, the latter attributives, under which are included words denoting trades or professions.

(1). The most important, and from its variety perhaps the most difficult to treat, of the stems of this class, is a group which has the following terminations:

Hindi	ई, इया, इक.
Panjabi	the same.
Sindhi	ई, यो, इको.
Gujarati	ई, ईओ, इयो.
Marathi	ई, या, इक.
Bengali, Oriya	ई, इआ, इक.

Five Sanskrit stems lie beneath the threefold division which is shown by the above list:

1. इनि, leaving इन्, nom. ई, as मालिन् "gardener," nom. माली.

2. क and कण्, leaving ईय, as पर्व्वत "mountain," पर्व्वतीय "mountaineer."

3. ठञ् and ठन्, leaving इक with guṇa, as वेद् "Veda," वैदिक "teacher of the Veda;" इक without guṇa, as घट "jar," घटिक "contained in a jar."

4. घ, leaving इय, as राष्ट्र "kingdom," राष्ट्रिय "belonging to a kingdom."

5. Several suffixes leaving य, as जन "man," जन्य "popular."

The difficulty consists, first, in the mutual interchange and fusion of these several stems, and secondly, in the fact that we cannot in all instances trace the modern word up to any distinct Sanskrit word. Of course when we can so trace it, all difficulty ceases; but there are many modern words which we can only vaguely identify with some Skr. root, but cannot tell through which of the above formations it has descended to us. A partial clue is afforded by the meaning in some cases, as the Skr. forms denote sometimes possessives, at others attributives or appellatives. But the lapse of time, the changes of meaning, and the facility with which one word lends itself to reasoning which would lead it either to a possessive or attributive origin, obscure the matter very much. ई may come from 1, 2, 4 and 5 of the Skr. stems; इया and its fellows from 2, 3 and 4; इक can only come from 3.

It will tend to clearness to give first those words which can be traced without doubt to one definite Skr. stem, and then to discuss, as far as our present lights permit, the question of the doubtful forms.

(*a*). Following the order of the Sanskrit forms, we first treat of इन्, having for its nominative ई. The commonest words of this class will be found in Ch. II. § 32. Others are the following:

H. डांडी and दांडी "rower," from Skr. दण्डी, one who uses a दण्ड in the sense of "oar," (H. दांड and डांड), P. *id.*, M. दंडी "one who carries a staff," B. O. डांडी (*dâṅṛî*) "rower."

Skr. पाठी "reader," "learned," H. *id.*, O. पाढी, the name of a sept of Brahmans.

Skr. त्रिपाठी "one who has read the three Vedas," H. तेवाडी, O. तिहारी, the name of a sept of Brahmans.

Skr. केशरी "lion," H. केहरी, P. केहर, S. केहरि, G. केसरी.

Skr. क्षेमी "prosperous," H. क्षेमी, and so in all.

Skr. कुष्ठी "leprous," H. कोढी, P. कुसती, S. कोड़ह्यो (which points rather to a form कुष्ठित), G. कोडिओ, M. कोंढो, O. *id.* and कढी, B. कुठिया (कुष्ठित).

Besides numerous Tatsamas in very common use in all the languages, as पापी "sinful" (पापिन्), धर्मी "virtuous" (धर्मिन्), रोगी "diseased" (रोगिन्), and the like, S. has also दांही "complainant," from दांह "complaint," which does not seem to be an Aryan word, but is probably corrupted from Arabic دَاعِي "claimant," دَعْوَى "claim." In some cases of undoubtedly modern origin S. retains the final vowel of the original word, as मति "opinion," मतई "tenacious of one's opinion," "opinionated," where the final short *i* has been changed to *a*.

(*β*). The next form ईय is used to form principally patronymics, or adjectives denoting nationality or caste, and results in ई and इया.

Skr. सिंधीय "a Sindhian," H. सिंधी, and so in all. In the same way are formed in S. लाडी "a man of लाड or Lower Sindh," सिराई "a man of सिरो Upper Sindh;" हिन्दूई "that which belongs to a हिन्दू Hindû." But O. uses the form इया, as ओड़िया "an Oriya," from a Skr. form ओड्रीय, from ओड्र, the old name of Orissa; also गौडिया "a Bengali," Skr. गौडीय, from गौड, the old name of Bengal. Common to all is मराठी or मरेठो "a Marâṭha," from Skr. महाराष्ट्रीय. O. has

also दखिणिआ or °या "worthy to be offered," Skr. दक्षिणीय, which, however, rather means "worthy to be honoured with offerings." Further instances are:

Skr. पर्व्वतीय "mountaineer," H. पर्वती, पर्वतिया (chiefly used of the Nepalese), P. *id.* and परवतीआ, G. पार्वतीयो, M. B. O. पर्व्वतीय, O. also पर्वतिया.

Skr. देशीय "belonging to a country," H. देसी "native," as distinguished from "foreign," P. *id.*, S. डेहार् (from डेह) and डेसी (from डेसु), G. देशी, M. देशी[1] and देशीय, O. देशी and देशीय, B. *id.*

Skr. राष्ट्रीय "belonging to the kingdom," B. राढी, O. H. *id.* This word is not known in the other provinces, and denotes a class or caste coming from the राढ, *i.e.* राष्ट्र, or kingdom of Bengal, that is, the settled and central parts of the country, as contrasted with the outlying and thinly peopled regions. Skr. has both forms राष्ट्रीय and राष्ट्रिय, but the former is commoner as a Tatsama in the moderns.

(γ). We now come to the most important of these forms, that in इक. There are two classes of this stem in Skr., one which augments the vowel of the root, the other which does not. The distinction is maintained in Sindhi with tolerable accuracy, but not generally in the others. Words of this stem are generally used as names of trades or castes.

Skr. शुण्डा "spirituous liquor," शौण्डिक "a distiller," H. सूंडी (*sũṛī*), B. शुंडी, O. शुंडि.

Skr. तैलं "oil," तैलिक "oilman," H. तेली, and so in all.

Skr. ताम्बूल "betel-nut," ताम्बूलिक "a seller thereof," H. तांबोली, P. तंबोली, G. like H., M. तांबोळी, B. O. तांबुली.

[1] Used chiefly in composition: when standing alone, it means an inhabitant of the *Desh*, an expression which implies the high table land of Maharashtra above the ghats or mountain range of the coast, and is opposed to Konkan, the low narrow strip of coast-line.

Skr. वेद् "Veda," वैदिक "learned in the Vedas," H. वेदी.

Skr. कच्च "plant," काचिक "grower of plants," H. काछी "a caste of gardeners," M. *id.*

Formed upon the same model are the names of three great septs of the Kanaujia Brahmans; thus दूबे is shortened from दूवेदी, and that is from Skr. द्वैवेदिक "one who knows two Vedas;" चौबे is चौवेदी, from चातुर्वेदिक "one who knows the whole four Vedas." The fuller form is retained in तिर्वेदी "one who knows the three Vedas," त्रैवेदिक. It is, however, equally correct to derive these forms from number 5 of the Skr. stems above, as in Skr. there are forms वैद्य, द्वैविद्य, त्रैविद्य, चातुर्विद्य. In the case of काछी, the origin of the meaning is doubtful. The Kâchhis are a widespread and very industrious caste of cultivators and market-gardeners, and their name may either be due to their growing vegetables, as one of the meanings of Sanskrit कच्च is "a plant," or perhaps, and on the whole more probably, from the *kâchh* or tightly-girt and tucked-up cloth round the loins, which is the only garment that they wear. Here may, perhaps, also be classed the common word H. कुर्मी and कुंबी, M. कुणबी, the name for ordinary peasants in M., and in H. that of an extensive caste. I do not know to what Skr. word this name is to be affiliated. It is also spelt कुनबी and कुंभी, and the name probably originated in comparatively modern times, and may have no connexion with the older language.

Sindhi examples of this stem are:

Skr. उष्ट्र "camel," औष्ट्रिक "camel-driver;" S. उठु "camel," ओठी "camel-driver."

S. ठेकिरु "earthenware," ठेकिरी "seller of pots."

S. बकरु "vegetables," बाकिरी "seller of vegetables."

This last word is, I think, not Aryan, but comes from the Arabic بَقْلٌ "potherbs," whence the word so common in the other languages, بَقَّال *baḳḳâl*, "a vegetable-seller." In Hindu-

stani the phrase *baniyâ baḳḳâl* is colloquially used to indicate petty traders and shopkeepers of all sorts.

(δ). The suffix इय is hardly to be distinguished from ईय, except in words which can be traced up to the Sanskrit. The typical word is

Skr. क्षत्रिय "a Kshattriya or man of the warrior caste," H. छत्री, खत्री, खेत्री, P. *id.*, S. खिची, M. क्षत्री.

(ε). Stems formed with य are very numerous, and, owing to the variations in meaning which modern words have undergone, are sometimes confounded with abstract nouns in यं, like चोरी "theft," from चौर्य, and, like them, frequently drop the य altogether. Of stems which retain ई, the following may be cited:

Skr. ग्राम्य "belonging to a village," H. ग्रामी, and so in all, but H. frequently ग्रामिक and ग्राम्य, also गांवी and गंवी, from the Tadbhava गांव.

Skr. मूख्य "principal," H. मूखी, P. मुखी, मुखीआ, S. मुखि, G. मुखी, मुखिओ, M. मुखी, B. *id.*, O. *id.* and मुखिआ.

A very large class of words exists in all the languages which, from the absence of any special Sanskrit form to which to refer them, or from the existence of more than one Sanskrit form, cannot be definitely referred to any of the above heads. Such, for instance, is धनी "master," "lord," also "wealthy," a word in use throughout. Skr. has धनिन्, धनिक and धन्य. In Old B. we find the word धनि "lady," which may either be shortened from धनिनी, or from धन्या.

M. is peculiarly rich in words ending in या, which are perhaps generally to be affiliated to the stem in इक, as mentioned in § 9 (2), but may also be attributed to (ε) by supposing the usual addition of क, making यक. Some of the more striking of these words are given with the Marathi primary stems to which they are allied:

अडत "commission," अडत्या "commission agent," "broker."

कचक "smartness," "a shock," कचक्या "smart," "sharp," "active."

कचाट "scheme," कचाट्या "scheming," "treacherous."

कंठाळ "bullock-pack," कंठाळ्या "fit for carrying burdens," "a draught-horse or bullock."

कांबळा "a coarse blanket," कांबळ्या "one who wears a *kâmbaḷâ*," "a labouring man."

कावड "pole for carrying loads," कावड्या "porter."

कोढ "leprosy," कोढ्या "leprous."

खवळ "scab," खवळ्या "scabby."

घाट "ghat," घाट्या "Brahman who attends at a *ghât*."

घोडा "horse," घोडक्या "groom."

Here we have a curious preservation of an older form. घोडा is Skr. घोटक, Pr. घोडओ. The M. word points back to a form घौटकिक, घोटकिन् or घौटक्य, in which the क has been preserved as a fulcrum for the termination.

Gujarati has also words of dubious origin in इओ or ईओ. The double form arises from the unsettled nature of G. spelling, in which no distinction is made between long and short *i*. The two examples most frequently given, दुखिओ "grieved," सुखिओ "happy," do not appear to come from any of the above stems, but from Skr. दुःखित and सुखित respectively. Other instances are:

निशाळ "school," निशाळियो "scholar" (perhaps Skr. नैःशालिक).

भूमि "earth," भूमियो "earthy," O. भूंया (perhaps Skr. भूमय, or भूमिक).

कोड "leprosy," कोडियो "leprous" (Skr. is कुष्ठिन्), see (*a*).

Without spending more time in considering the subject, it may suffice to suggest, that the fusion of several cognate forms into one, which is so common a feature in these languages, has been at work here also, and that the Skr. terminations given above may have been by careless or ignorant speakers added often to nouns which did not take such terminations in Sanskrit itself, so that words of this group may be referred at will to any

of the five Sanskrit stems given, and in isolated instances to others also, as, for instance, H. पितिया "uncle," which is from none of the five stems, but from Skr. पितृव्य.

(2). Principally indicative of qualities or dispositions of the mind is the suffix आलु, which, although occasionally found as a primary, is far more extensively used as a secondary suffix. Vararuchi (iv. 25) treats this suffix in Pr. as a substitute for *mat* (and *vat*), suffixes denoting possession, overlooking the fact that आलु exists in Skr. already. In Pr., as also sometimes in Skr., the final *u* is dropped. This stem is found in different words in the seven languages; each language may therefore be illustrated separately.

Marathi, in which, whether from the greater perfectness of the dictionary, or because the language is really richer in these forms, a larger number of instances has been noted than in its sisters, uses the form आळू with the cerebral ळ and long *ú*; it has also आळ, and occasionally even आळा, which latter points to the use of the universal क suffix, so that we should postulate a Skr. आलक. There is also found आळ्या, which would indicate a former आलिक, with reference to the remarks in the concluding portion of the last section. Thus we have:

Skr. कृपा "pity," M. कृपाळू, H. कृपालु.

Skr. कष्ट "trouble," M. कष्टाळू "laborious," "painstaking."

Skr. केश "hair," M. केसाळू and केसाळ "hairy."

Skr. गुडक "ball," M. गोंडा "knob," "tuft," गोंडाळ "tufted grass."

Skr. [uncertain], M. धोंडा "stone," धोंडाळ "stony."

Skr. तुंड "snout," "beak," M. तोंडा "mouth," तोंडाळ "foul-mouthed," "scurrilous."

These three are combined in a proverb descriptive of the peasant's three greatest troubles—

गवत गोंडाळ शेत धोंडाळ बायको तोंडाळ

"Pasturage coarse and knotty, fields full of stones, and a scolding wife."

Skr. हस्त "hand," M. हात, *id.*, हाताळ "thievish," "with itching palm."

Another proverb runs—

हाताळ पुरवतो परंतु तोंडाळ पुरवत नाहीं

"The itching palm may be satiated, but never the scolding tongue."

Skr. घटिका "a measure of time, about half an hour," M. घडी *id.*, घड्याळ "an instrument for measuring time," "a gong," H. घडियाल, P. *id.*, and so in all.

Skr. घात "wound," M. घाय *id.*, घायाळ "wounded."

Skr. चिक्कण "greasy," M. चीक "sap," "juice," चिकाळ, चिकाळा and चिकाळ्या "viscid," "gummy."

Skr. [uncertain], M. झोप and झोंप "sleep," झोपाळू "sleepy."

As to this last word, the root वी in Skr. means "to move," among other things, and the root वप्, which is in effect an old causal of वी in its meanings of "sowing (grain)," "weaving" and "sewing," shows that the movement implied by the parent root is an oscillating movement backwards and forwards, like that of a weaver's shuttle, or a sower's hand; so that we may fairly suppose it to have obtained the secondary meaning of "nodding," as one does when drowsy. In confirmation of this, M. has also झींपा or झोपा "a swing;" so that we may assume a form अधि + वप्, which would give झोप, the anuswâra, or rather anunâsika, being inorganic. (See Vol. I. pp. 177, 327, for the झ, and p. 143 for the ओ.)

Skr. पिधान "covering," M. झांप "a mat," झांपाळ "matted or bushy" (a tree); see Vol. I. p. 177. Hence is formed a verb झांपाळणें "to be bushy and close of foliage."

Skr. ममता "mineness," "selfishness," M. *id.*, ममताळू "selfish," "self-conscious."

Skr. दुग्ध "milk," M. दूध *id.*, दुधाळू "full of milk," "a milch cow."

There are also in M. instances of this suffix taking the form *ârú*, as in Sindhi, thus—

M. कौल "a tile," कौलारू "tiled" (as a building).

We now pass on to Gujarati, which, like M., principally uses the ळ, though words of this stem are also found with ल, but perhaps only through a mistake of the writers. Authorities disagree very widely as to the spelling of Gujarati, which is not to be wondered at in the case of a language with a scanty literature, no fixed standard of pronunciation, and numerous dialects.

G. लाज "shame," लजाळु "shamefast," "bashful."

G. ऊंघ "sleep," ऊंघाळु "drowsy."

G. वाचा "word," वाचाळु "loquacious," also in a good sense "eloquent."

G. रेती "sand," रेताळु, रेताळ, and by some रेताल "sandy."

G. पथरो "stone," पथराळु "stony."

G. लोही "blood," लोहीआळु "bloody."

G. दाढी "beard," दाढीआळु "bearded."

G. घडी "a ghari," घडीआळो "gong."

With words ending in ई this language affixes the termination, without modifying the stem word. In the case of nouns in ओ, it adds the suffix to the oblique form in *á*; the fem. in *í* is the same in the oblique as in the nominative; so that we may say that in all cases the suffix is added to the oblique form. An exception is रेताळु, but here we derive from an earlier form रेत in use in the other languages. The language of course uses, like all its sisters, Tatsama words, at the discretion of the writer, and words like क्षपाळु are almost Tatsamas, the cerebral ळ being merely a vulgar pronunciation of ल. This suffix is found appended even to Persian words by the indiscriminating vulgar; thus from شَرم "shame," is formed शरमाळु or शरमाळ "bashful."

Sindhi more frequently changes ल to र (Vol. I. p. 247). Thus

S. भेंहि "buffalo," भेंहार "buffalo-herd."

S. धणु "herd of cattle," धणार "herdsman."

S. उटु "camel," ओटार "camel-herd."

S. जउ "barley," जवारु "(wheat) mixed with barley."

S. घडी "hour," घड्यालु, °लो "gong."

S. झुडु "clouds" (collective), झुडालो "cloudiness."

The final vowel, whether it be the *u* of the masc., or the *i* of the feminine, disappears before the suffix; but long *î* is retained, merely hardened into य, as in M. Quasi-Tatsamas also occur, which are simply due to the fact of the words being honestly written as the people pronounce them, and not as Pandits would have them; such are किर्पालु, ड़यालु, for कृतालु, दयालु.

The word डिआलु "candlestick," from डिओ "a light," is quoted by Trumpp in this place; but it would appear to be questionable whether we have not here a compound from दीप + आलय. I shall show presently that compounds of this sort are not unfrequent, and often render it difficult to determine whether any word belongs to this class or not. In this and other languages compounds whose last member is काल "time," or शाला "hall," or आलय "abode," as will be exhibited hereafter, come under this category, and the confusion is increased in M. and G. by the substitution of the cerebral ळ for ल in these words, as well as in the suffix आलु.

Panjabi has not any special fondness for the र sound, nor does it particularly affect stems of this formation. Instances are, उनाळा "woollen," from उन्न or उन्ना "wool;" कसाला "distressed," for कसताला, from कसत "trouble" (Skr. कष्ट). In this case the possessive signification is sometimes lost, and the word used merely as an intensive substantive. कंडिआळा "thorny," from कंडा "thorn" (Skr. कण्टक), where the short *i* represents the *e* of the oblique form कंडे. कुण्डाळा "a large earthen pot," from कुण्ड "a pot," here again intensive. घंटाल (ironical) "a vain, pompous man," that is, one who has a gong beaten before him as he walks, from घंटा "a bell," "a gong." There is also, as in the above-quoted languages, the common word घडिआल "gong," from घडी; but the language prefers the cognate forms of this stem in *il*, *ul*, and *ail*, as we shall see presently.

Bengali and Oṛiya, being languages originally poor, and

having, therefore, a smaller stock of Tadbhavas than the others, are not fertile fields for secondary formations. In them such stems are mostly Tatsamas, like कृपालु; and it will not be productive of any large results to adduce instances from them. The words which the student may meet with will be readily recognizable as belonging to this stem; such as, झगडालु "quarrelsome," already cited; O. सिंधाळ "burglarious," from सिंध "a burglar's hole," sometimes written सिंधुआळ for सिंधालु; मझाळ "middling," from मझि (Skr. मध्य) "middle;" विन्धाळ "piercing," from विंध "a hole."

With regard to Hindi, usually so rich in primary and secondary forms, it is somewhat strange to find so few illustrations of this widespread stem. Apart from Tatsamas, it has, however, forms in *âlu*, and, owing to its habitual neglect of final short vowels, also *âl*, but displays, like Panjabi, a marked preference for the forms in *il*, *ail*, *el*, and *ul*. It also in many instances changes *l* to *r* (see Vol. I. p. 247), thus producing *âr*, with variants *ârâ* and *ârû*, where the final *u* is preserved by being lengthened. The following list will suffice to illustrate all these forms.

H. छांह "shade," छांहारा "umbrageous" (not from छांव + हारा, as Forbes puts it; the ह belongs to the root).

H. निपट "end," { निपटारू / निपटारा } "one who finishes," "destroys," "makes an end of."

H. तोंद "belly," { तोंदाला / तोंदार } "pot-bellied."

H. घडी "hour," घडियाल "gong."

H. दूध "milk," दुधार "milch," and दुधाल, B. *id.*, O. दोहल.

H. गोल "ball," गोलारा "globular."

H. चिन्ह "mark," चिन्हार "recognition."

Skr. प्रेमन् "love," पियारा "beloved" (as though प्रिमालु for प्रे°).

H. रेत "sand," रेताला "sandy" (more generally रेतला, see further on).

Many of these words, as in the other languages, have lost the possessive or qualitative sense, and have become simple attributes.

(3). Closely allied to the last, and like it used to express possession of a quality, is the Skr. इल, which in Pr. often doubles the ल, making इल्ल. This suffix in the moderns takes a lengthened form ईला or ईल, and combines with a preceding *a* or *â* into एल, एला, and ऐल. As remarked above, it is a favourite in H. and P., though less frequent in the other languages. These two languages have forms in *elû*, where the *û* probably arises from confusion with *âlu*, unless we here admit a change of *â* into *e*, noted as not unfrequent in Vol. I. p. 136.

H. गांठ "knot," गठीला "knotty," P. *id.*

H. गढा "pit," गढेला "large pit" (intensive).

H. कंकर "gravel," कंकरीला "gravelly."

H. घर "house," घरेला "domesticated," "tame."

H. घास "grass," घसीला "grassy."

H. चोट "wound," चुटीला "bruised."

H. छव "beauty," छबीला "beautiful." As in Bihari Lal's fanciful verses:

नांक चढै सीवी करै जितै छबीली छैल ॥
फिर फिर भूलि उहै गहै पिय कंकरीली गैल ॥

Satsai, 234.

H. छाईं "shade," छायेला "shady."

H. डंक "sting," डंकीला "armed with a sting" (said of insects, as यह कीडा डंकीला है "this insect has a sting").

H. ढक्का "shove," ढकेलू "in the habit of butting" (said of horned animals), P. धकेलू, fem. धकेली.

H. ढब "form," ढबीला "well-shaped," "comely."

H. तोंद "belly," तोंदिल "pot-bellied."

H. वन "forest," वनैला "wild," "jungly."

H. रेत "sand," रेतीला "sandy," "gritty."

H. बोझ "load," बुझैल "load-bearing," *subst.* "a beast of burden."

H. सौत "rival wife" (Skr. सपत्नी), सौतेला "belonging to a rival wife," as in the phrase सौतेला भाई, that is, "a brother, son of the same father, but by a different mother," "a half-brother."

H. चौंक "start" (Skr. चमत्कार), चौंकैल "a horse that is given to shying or starting."

There seems to be no rule for the use of one of these forms instead of another, though in practice we find that one word always uses *elâ*, and another *ilâ*, while a third has only the form *ailâ*. With respect to the use of the final *â*, it may perhaps be laid down that such words as have a distinctly adjective sense always take the final *á*, but such nouns as are used substantively reject it. Thus, if we should say, "he is my half-brother," we must use *elâ*, as सौतेला भाई; but if we would say, "this man and woman are my brother and sister by the father's side, but by different mothers," we might say, "they are my *sautels*," हमारे सौतेल हैं. So also derisively, "Ho, pot-belly!" would be, अडे तोंदैल.

Those words in which Panjabi agrees with H. have been noted above; other instances peculiar to that language are these which follow. अटक in the sense of halting, gives अटकेलो (*f.*) "a woman that walks mincingly, or affectedly," sometimes, but incorrectly, written अटखेलो, possibly from some idea of its being in some way connected with खेल "play." From अड़ "stoppage," अड़ैल "a horse that jibs," G. अडियेल.

P. कस "strength," "drawing-power," कसैला "astringent" (said of medicines).

Ar. غُصّة "suffocation," (in India) "rage," घुसैला "angry," घुसैल "a bad-tempered person."

P. घगरा "petticoat," घगरैल "a woman who wears a petticoat," *i.e.* a virtuous woman; prostitutes do not wear the petticoat in some parts, nor the drawers, but only the loin-cloth, *sárhí*.

P. झंब "storm," झंबेल *subst.* "quarrel," "affray," "uproar."

P. थक्का "weary," थकेला "easily fatigued."

P. दुद्ध "milk," दुधेल "a milch cow." H. has also this word.

P. पत्थर "stone," पथरीला, पथरैला "stony."

P. लज्ज "shame," लजीला "shamefast."

P. मांझा "the middle" (the name applied to the central part of the Panjab between the Râvi and Biâs rivers), मंझैल "a man from the Mânjha."

P. makes the feminines of words of the form *elû* in *o*, see Ch. II. § 33 (3). As between *ail* and *el*, it may be decided that the latter is a softening of the former, which is again shortened from *áil* आइल, where the *á* belongs to the root. This applies to H. also; thus छायेला "shady," is for छायैला, which is छाया + इला, while छबीला is छवि + इला. The difficulty lies in this, that often where we have *elá*, we cannot find the termination in long *á* in the root; thus there is no reason to believe that बन "forest," was ever बना, yet we require बना to give us बनैला, *i.e.* बना+इल. The rule will not therefore apply in all instances.

Sindhi has ईलो and एलो, but also, in conformity with its usual custom, ईरो and एरो. The long vowel, as in H. and P., seems to have arisen from rejection of one of the two *l*s of Pr. इल्ल.

ईलो	हठु "obstinacy,"	हठीलो "obstinate," G. *id.*
ईरो	खांधि "patience,"	खांधीरो "patient."
एलो	थर "the desert,"	थरेलो "a man from the Thar."
,,	चमु "leather,"	चमेलो "leathern."
,,	चांव "shade,"	चांवेलो "shady."
एरो	*id.*	चांवेरो *id.*
,,	ड़भु "a kind of grass,"	ड़ाभेरो "made of *ḍabhu* grass."

With Sindhi on the one hand, and Hindi on the other, is connected in respect of this suffix Gujarati, having in some instances the same words as the former, as in हठीलो, and in

others the same as the latter, as दुधाऊ = H. दुधार, also दुधेऊ = H. and P. दुधैल. Its usual forms are ईलो and एरो. As

नातुं "relationship,"	नातीलो "related, by blood or marriage."
घणु "much,"	घणेरो "abundant" (only used in poetry).
माठुं "bad, defective,"	माठेरो "scanty."
घाम "sweat,"	घमेळो "sweaty."

The language does not seem to be rich in this class of forms.

Marathi has numerous formations in ईल, ईऊ, and एल, also in एर and एरा. Care must be taken to distinguish from words of this class those words which present long *i* from the tendency of this language to lengthen vowels in a final syllable (Vol. I. p. 155), such as कुटीऊ "perverse," "malicious," which is merely a vulgar pronunciation of Skr. कुटिल "crooked." Further are to be eliminated a small class of compound words in which आलय forms the last member, as देवाईल "temple," = देवालय; also familiar words such as वडील or वढील "ancestor," from Skr. वृद्ध through a now disused वढा, and बाईल "a wife," from बाई. These seem to be a sort of diminutives.

As genuine possessives may be cited—

कड "side," "direction,"	कडील "relating to a quarter or direction."
खडक "rock,"	खडकील "rocky."
खाल (*adv.*) "below,"	खालील "belonging to the lower part."
गोड "sweetness,"	गोडीऊ "sweetish."
कांटा "thorn,"	कांटेरा "thorny," also कांटेरें "a thorny shrub."
id.	कांटील "a thorny creeper."
(Skr. खण्ड) खण "a division,"	खणेरें "divided into squares" (a cloth).
(Skr. खनि) खण "an excavation,"	खणील "digging up plants" (*subst.*).
गोंडा "tuft,"	गोंडेरा "tufted."
घाण "stench,"	घाणेरा "stinking," also घाणेला.

घाम "sweat,"	घामेला "sweaty,"
जुना "old,"	जुनेरें "old clothes," "rags" (*subst.*).
झट "encumbrance,"	झटेल "troublesome."
वास "smell,"	वासेरा, वासेला "fetid," "rancid."

Here, as in the other languages, the meaning of the possessive has in several cases passed over into that of a substantive.

In Oriya this suffix is not common: an instance is छबिला "handsome," from छवि. I have not found any others, except Tatsamas. The dictionary (Sutton's), however, is a very meagre one, and I have not heard the form in speaking. The same may be said of Bengali, in which language secondary formations of all kinds are comparatively rare, or, if they exist in rural districts, are not fully recognized as other than mere local corruptions. There is a vast field for research in this direction.

(4). The combination of the suffix in ल with a preceding *u* is rare, though not altogether non-existent in Prakrit. Vararuchi gives only one instance, *viârullo*, for Skr. विकारवत् "changed." The suffix ऊल with the long vowel is found in a few cases in Skr., as वातूल (also वातुल) "mad," "gouty" (*i.e.* affected by wind), from वात "wind." In the modern languages it is also rare. For Sindhi Trumpp gives no examples, and does not even introduce the suffix in his very full and well-arranged list of secondary stems. There are, however, a few words which may be referred to this suffix in all the languages. Thus

Skr. वातुल "a stroke of wind," S. वाउल "blight from wind," वाउर "winnowing grain." H. बाउरा "mad" (from the meaning of Skr. वातूल given above), also written बाऊला, बावला and बावरा. P. writes the word बांउरा, बाउंरा, and बाउला. G. बाउ "foolish." M. वातूळ "flatulent," also a corrupt form बावटूळ "whirlwind." The word बाऊळ, meaning "a kind of soil on the banks of rivers," seems as if it belonged to this stem; but the connexion is difficult to trace, unless it be "driven by the

wind," such as are the sand-drifts which the violent winds in the dry season heap up in the beds of rivers all over India. B. वाउंडा and वाउल "mad," वाउंडी "whirlwind," वाओल "winnowing." O. वाओळा "mad."

From M. I have picked out the following, which should probably come under this head.

कुरुळ "curly" (Skr. कुरल), खाणोरा "gluttonous," from खाणें "to eat," a primary formation; गाभूळ "bloated," "pulpy" (like a pregnant female), from गाभ fœtus.

Of more extended use are—

Skr. घाम "heat," "sweat," M. घामोळी, घामोळें "prickly heat," "an eruption caused by excessive heat of the weather," H. B. घमोरी, but O. घमिर.

Skr. मध्य "middle," H. मझोला "middle-sized," "intermediate," P. मझोळा and मझळा, S. however मंझारो, B. and O. मझुला. It is said in O. of the second of three brothers, thus वड भाई "eldest," मझुला "second," छोट "youngest."

From Skr. घात in the sense of "defect," "failure," comes P. घाऊळ, घाऊळा "lazy," "careless," not found in the other languages; also फंदूळ "quarrel," from फंद "snare," "deceit;" खाडूळा "dear," from खाड "fondling," and some few more. H. ठठोल "jocose," from ठठा "jest." The formation is not, however, a very common one in any of the modern languages, any more than it is in Skr. or Pr.

(5). All the various forms of this group of ल stems still further soften down to an obscure *al*, generally but not always preceded by *y*, thus giving यल्. The typical word is

Skr. घात "wound," H. घाव, M. G. *id.*, S. P. घाउ, B. O. घा, whence comes Old-H. घाइल, H. घायल, P. G. *id.*, P. also घाइल, S. घायलु, M. घायाळ, B. घालि, inverted from घाइल, O. *id.*

Here only M. has the long *â*, and is probably from *âlu*, while the rest are from *ila*, so that they might be referred to a Skr.

form घातिल, where the त has gone out as usual, and the intermediate form was probably घायिल. Panjabi has a great preference for this shortened form, owing perhaps to its fondness for short vowels and habitual neglect of the principle of compensatory lengthening. Even where a word is written with a long vowel, the Panjabi peasant will often slur it over so that it sounds short. Thus

गट्ठल "knotty," from गट्ठ "knot."
गंधळा "muddy," "turbid," „ गंध "filth."
धरल "cavity," "hollow," „ धर "house."

दुसल्लू for दुसरल्लू "belonging to the other side," दुस्सर "the other side." They say गोली दुसल्लू निक्कळ गई "the bullet went right through, and came out at the other side."

रेतला "sandy," „ रेत "sand."
फोकला "insipid," „ फोक "dregs."
लाडळा "dear," „ लाड "fondling," H. लाडली.

As an instance of this form may be cited

H. अगला "foremost," "in the front," P. *id.*, S. अग़रो "superior," G. आगल (*prep.*) "before," M. अगळा "superior," B. O. आगलि, to which corresponds H. पिछला "hindmost," with a similar series in the rest, as P. पिछला, etc.

Sindhi has a set of stems in *lu* preceded by a short vowel, which, however, do not seem to be connected with this suffix, but rather with the Skr. diminutives in ल and र, and may therefore be relegated to the section which treats of those developments.

This form is usual in Oriya, as मांसळ "fleshy," from मांस "flesh;" भण्डळ "deceitful," from भण्ड "a cheat."

One form fuses into another, or into several others, so constantly in these languages, that the inquirer is at every step bewildered by their similarity, and as the meanings, which are after all the safest guides, have also commonly been lost or

shaded off by metaphors, or by local circumstances, into other classes, there is often little help to be found from them. It is probable, however, that in all except Sindhi, the group of forms in *l* preceded by short *a* has really been derived from *álu*, *ila*, or one of the cognate forms in Sanskrit; and it must be perpetually remembered that the modern languages often add a termination, which has for them acquired some special meaning, to roots and primary stems in which it does not exist in Sanskrit, or, if it existed, has not been handed down to us, so that the fact of the form itself not being found in Sanskrit is no argument against its being a genuine one for the modern vernaculars. When also the moderns tack on these expressive endings to Tadbhavas whose origin is uncertain, the inference is that they fully recognized the effect produced by such endings, and used them at will, thus constructing numerous quite recent words of their own.

§ 19. The Sanskrit suffix इत, though in form identical with the past participle, is also largely used to form secondary nouns, originally possessive in meaning, but shading off like the other similar suffixes into attributives and mere appellatives. It is the parent of a very large range of forms in the modern languages, the most common of which is that which amalgamates the *i* of the suffix with the long *á* of the stem, producing in H. the common form in *ait*, though the others frequently keep the two vowels distinct, and M. *more suo* lengthens इ to ई. Hindi having got hold of *ait* as a termination expressive of habitual occupation, possession or profession, adds it, regardless of etymology, to words which have no final *á*, shortening the long vowel of the root. Thus from

H. ढाल "shield," H. ढलैत "shield-bearer," P. ढलैत, M. ढालाईत, B. O. ढालाइत.

H. अकड "strut," H. अकडैत "a strutting, swaggering fellow," P. अक्करैंद् (for °त).

More regularly, however, from words ending in *â*, as—

H. कडखा "war-song," "pæan,"	कडखैत "a warrior-bard," P. *id.*
H. चर्चा "report," "news,"	चर्चैत "a gossiping person."
H. दंगा "wrangling," "affray,"	दंगैत "a brawler," P. *id.*
H. बर्छा "spear,"	बर्छैत "spearman," P. *id.*
H. नाता "relationship,"	नतैत "a relation."

In Sindhi this suffix is found in two forms, *eto* and *aito*. The *e* of the former arises from the fact that this suffix is added to the oblique form of the noun, thus पुटु "son," *oblique* पुट्र *puṭra*, whence we get *puṭra*+*ito*=*puṭreto*, पुट्रेतो "having a son." In feminines in *a* the oblique also ends in *a*; thus धिअ "daughter," धिएतो "having a daughter," from *dhia*+*ito*. Some words in *u* masc. do not change in the oblique, and in this case the *u* is elided; but a consciousness of its having been there prevents the *i* of the suffix from amalgamating with the final vowel of the root, thus भाउ "brother," भाइतो "having a brother," for *bhâ*(*u*)+*ito*. Irregular is जोएतो "having a wife," from जोइ "wife," where we should expect जोईतो for *joï*+*ito*; it has probably been constructed on the model of *puṭreto*, without reflecting on the origin of the form. Another irregular word is वाटाइतो "having a road," from वाट "road," which should be *vâṭeto* like *dhieto*.

With adjectives the suffix *ito* is added to long *â*, as

वाराइतो "timely,"	from वारो "time."
सझाइतो "opportune,"	,, सझु "opportunity."
घुटाइतो "sultry,"	,, घुट "sultriness."
निंड़ाइतो "sleepy,"	,, निंड़ "sleep."
नेमाइतो "regular,"	,, नेमु "rule."

This last word is also used as an adverb "regularly," "methodically," and this is the case with several other words of this stem, in Sindhi; as

चर्याइतो "madly," from चर्यो "mad."
पत्याइतो "respectably," „ पति "honour."
विलाइतो "safely," „ विलो "charge," "care" (विले "in charge of").

Working round in our usual circle, we come next to Gujarati, which has forms in *iyo* produced by the rejection of the त of इत. These were mentioned in § 18 (1), ϵ. The form in *ait* is not given in any of the grammars or dictionaries, and does not appear to exist, though it is strange that words like कडखैत, which breathe the spirit of the old Rajput heroes, should not have survived among the descendants of the warlike Chalukyas. Of इतो there are a few examples, as

ओळख "recognition," ओळखितो "an acquaintance."
मान "honour," मानितो "respected," "a man of rank."
जाण "knowledge," जाणितो "skilled," "a connoisseur."

These are also written with long ई, as जाणीतो, an approach to Marathi pronunciation. In the latter language the formation in ईत is common as an attributive principally: thus

कडकड "a crackling sound," कडकडीत "that which crackles," also metaphorically "prompt," "smart."

खसखस "sound of rustling of dry grass," खसखसीत "rough," "blunt," "plain-spoken."

दणदण "bang! bang!" दणदणीत "noisy" (said of a festivity).
दवदव "squash!" दवदवीत "soft," "pulpy," "squashy."

So fond of expressive formations is Marathi, that a very long list of words of this class might be adduced; they are mostly reduplicative. Of the form आईत, one or two instances have been given already, as चढाईत, ढालाईत; another is पुढाईत "one that takes the lead," from पुढा "front." M. and O. have from खंडा "sword," खंडाइत O. "swordsman," and खांडाईत M. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that the Marathas

borrowed this word from the Oriyas; the Khaṇḍaits of Orissa formed once a very powerful and numerous body of soldiers. Under the Hindu Rajas they were the militia or *landwehr* of the province, and are still found as village watchmen in the South, though in northern Orissa they have beaten their swords into ploughshares, and are industrious cultivators. The *khaṇḍâ*, or short double-edged sword, was the sign manual of the kings of Orissa, and is found rudely engraved on all their copper-plate grants, thus. The Marathas may have borrowed the word during their long period of sway in that country, as it is strange that it is only found in these two languages, and has a political significance only in Orissa. O. has also

गोछाइत "one who collects firewood, straw, etc., for sale," from **गोछा** "a bundle."

सेवाइत "a worshipper," "one who attends regularly on an idol," from **सेवा** "worship."

And with a further suffix *aka*—

पळातक "a fugitive," from **पळायन** "flight," for **पळाइतक**.

टिकाइत "heir apparent to a throne," from **टिका** "the *tilak* or mark of sovereignty," H. **टीकैत**.

कटाइत "chopper," from **कटान** "cutting."

गन्ताइत "watchman," "guard for travellers," from **गन्ता** "traveller."

The *gantâit* was a man who escorted the pilgrims to the shrine of Jagannath over the dangerous and difficult roads of former days. His occupation is gone in these peaceful times, but the title remains to his descendants, who are now ordinary peasants.

Bengali inverts the suffix into *âti*, as in **सेवाती** "worshipper," for **सेवाइत**, but does not use many words of this stem.

Tatsamas of this form are common in all the languages, and inasmuch as *ita* would in Prakrit drop the **त्** and become *iya*, and thence *i*, the early Tadbhavas formed by this suffix add

another element of uncertainty to the numerous words in long *i* in all the seven languages. This has been mentioned above under that stem.

§ 20. Most frequent in Sanskrit as a suffix indicating possession is मतुप्. This forms adjectives having for nominative मान् (*m.*), मती (*f.*), मत् (*n.*), also वान्, वती, वत्. In Prakrit the form becomes वन्तो, वन्ती, वन्तं. The Prakrit form is preserved with some modification in early Tadbhavas; but all the languages have a certain number of instances of late Tadbhavas and Tatsamas with the Skr. formation, such as धनवान् "wealthy," which is in use in all. Sindhi, however, must have a vowel-ending, come what may, so it writes दयावानु "compassionate," and with very slight corruption सीलवानु "virtuous," for Skr. शीलवान्; विज़ावानु "learned," for Skr. विद्यावान्. Of early Tadbhavas with the Pr. form वन्तो, the following are examples: G. दयावंत "pitiful," धनवंत "wealthy," लखमीवंत "prosperous" (Skr. लक्ष्मी°), लज्जायवंत "bashful" (Skr. लज्जावत्), but these are not very common.

Far more general is the contracted form औत, with oxytone forms औता and औती. With the change of form has come a very extensive change of meaning, so that it is not easy in all cases to see by what mental process the modern signification can be traced back to the original idea of possession.

In Hindi the form in औत is almost identical in meaning with that in ऐत, and indicates only rarely possession, as डकौत, the name of a troublesome class of vagrant beggars, who in the Panjab lay claim to miraculous powers of warding off evil. They are so called from the डक, a hideous little instrument like a drum, with a bullet at the end of a string attached to it, with which they keep up a ceaseless rattle; so that the word would mean "possessing a *ḍak*," P. डकौत and डकौंत, the latter for डकवंत. Less directly possessive is H. जेठौत "son of a जेठा" (Skr. ज्येष्ठ), or "husband's elder brother," P. जिठुत,

which, however, may be a compound from ज्येष्ठ + पुत्र. Hindi has a string of feminines in औती, indicating generally action, in some of which we can get the idea of possession, by treating them as adjectives compounded with a fem. substantive.

Thus बपौती "patrimony," "paternal inheritance," is explainable as बपावती संपत्ति "wealth possessed by, or belonging to, a father," where, however, the idea of possession is rendered passive, as we could not translate it "possessing a father," though this would be more in accordance with the original meaning. We must not be surprised at inversions of this sort in a popular and unreasoning language. Thus, for instance, the Latin suffix *-bilis*, which originally meant "able to do," is now generally used in the passive sense of "able to be done," *amabilis, aimable, amiable*, do not now mean "able to love," but "able to be loved," "that which may be loved;" and in the numerous hybrid words which we have formed by adding *-able* to Teutonic roots, the same rule prevails: thus we say, for instance, *eatable, drinkable*, meaning "that which may be eaten or drunk," not "that which can eat and drink." The monstrous modern word *reliable*, which is creeping into our language in spite of protest, can have no meaning at all. A *reliable* statement means literally "a statement that can be relied," which is nonsense; we say "a statement that can be relied *on*," so that the word, if allowed to exist at all, should be "reli*on*able"!

The majority of these feminines cannot well, by any inversion or supplying additional meanings, be invested with a possessive sense. They refer mostly to accounts and business, and we may supply a substantive कथा or वात. Thus

समझौती "act of explaining," from समझाना "to explain," } generally
बुझौती "settlement of accounts," „ बुझाना "to explain," } used together, P. *id.*
मनौती "giving security for one," „ मनाना "to cause to trust," P. *id.*, G. मनौती.

चुकौती "closing an account," from चुकाना "to settle," "wind-up," P. *id.*

भरौती "payment in full," ,, भर "full," "complete."

Others, again, are general in meaning, and have no reference to the primitive idea of possession, as

हरौती "the beginning of the ploughing season," from हल "plough" (also हरसोत).

चुनौती "act of encouraging troops," from चुनना "to array."

हिनौती "supplication" (probably only a vulgar corruption of Skr. विनयवती प्रार्थना "modest prayer").

सगौती "flesh," "meat" (derivation uncertain), P. M. *id.*, G. साग.

छुडौती "ransom," from छुडाना "to ransom."

Panjabi has also a fair number of words of this kind, mostly identical with Hindi. G. uses principally ओती and उती, as in मनोती, quoted above, समजुती "explanation." M. writes वती, as चुकवती, corresponding to H. चुकौती, or ऊत, as समजूत, H. समझौती. In B. and O. the practice of pronouncing *a* as *o* has led to the confusion of words of this form with those formed by the suffix *ti*. In Hindi also it is a fair presumption that many of the words just quoted may be ascribed to the suffix ति, the इ of which is lengthened, as in the cases quoted in § 12. Thus words which have ती added to the root direct, are from the simple root, while those in which the ती is preceded by औ, are from the causal root, whose old form ended in *âu*; thus बुझौती would be for बुझाउ + ति, from बुझाउना, the older form of the causal.

Here comes in more confusion. In H. and P., and occasionally in the other languages also, are found words which we are tempted to affiliate to this suffix, but which are written with ट. It is probable that these words should have त, and the use of ट is due partly to ignorance, and partly to their having

been confounded with words of the form आवट, already discussed in § 16 (3). Some are found in P. with both त and ट, as in the following list:

H. सच "true," सचौटी "truthfulness."

H. हाथ "hand," हथौटी "dexterity," P. *id.*

H. हरना "to grasp," हरौटी "staff."

H. सींग "horn," सिंगौटी "a burnisher made of horn," P. *id.*, "a small horn."

P. सिखया "teaching" (Skr. शिक्षा) सिखौती and सिखौटी "instruction."

P. सिद्ध "upright," सिद्धौट "uprightness" (also सिधौती).

Under this head, and to be distinctly referred to the suffix वत् by elision of the व, and occasional lengthening of the preceding vowel, are to be classed the following Sindhi words:

भरी "load," भर्यतु "a porter."

पोर्ह्यो "labour," (Skr. पौरुष्यं) पोर्ह्यतु "labourer."

डिअणी "debt," डिअण्यातु "debtor."

With characteristic change of त to ट, occur several words which may with great probability be ascribed to this suffix, though Trumpp would refer them, judging apparently chiefly by their sense, to the stem in पण through the Pr. form त्तण. Such are

छोकरु "boy," छोकिराटु "boyhood" (*quasi* Skr. शावकरवत् कालं).

This is the only instance he gives among secondary forms. When treating of primary forms, he deduces this stem from the Skr. affix अतु, as noted in § 16 (2). From my own notes I take the following:

कंधु "shoulder," कंधाटु "a bullock's collar" (*quasi* Skr. स्कंधवद् यन्त्रं "machine for the shoulder").

§ 21. Closely allied to the preceding is the Sanskrit suffix त्य, which is divided into two, त्यक् being added to nouns of

place to indicate attributives, as दक्षिणात्य "belonging to the South," and त्यप् added to indeclinables to form words implying production, as तत्रत्य "produced there."

The use of these two forms has been very widely extended in the modern languages under the form च, which arises naturally from त्य (see Vol. I. p. 327). I shall show reasons in a future chapter for believing this suffix to be the origin of the Marathi genitive in चा, ची, चें. At present I confine myself to the stems which it forms, merely observing that these stems are more frequent in, if not entirely confined to, Sindhi and Marathi, —a circumstance which adds confirmation to the theory of the genitive, by showing that the use of this suffix was familiar to the natives of those two provinces.

In Sindhi the suffix is preceded by *i* or *e*; the former is used where the stem is a feminine in short *i*, in which the long *ī* of Sanskrit has been shortened in the primary stem, because it stands at the end of the word, but preserves its full length when the suffix is added. Thus

Skr. वेष्टी "inclosure," S. वेड़हि "thicket," "jungle," वेड़हीचो "belonging to the jungle."

Added to masculines in *o* or *u* it takes *e*, the old oblique form, as

S. ग़ोठु "village," ग़ोठिचो "belonging to the same village."
S. पाडो "quarter," पाडिचो "of the same quarter (of a town)."
S. पारि "opposite," पारिचो "from the other side."

Marathi does not insert any junction vowel, as

M. घर "house,"	घरचा "domestic."
M. वर "above,"	वरचा "superior."
M. आंत "within,"	आंतचा "inner."
M. पुढा "front,"	पुढचा "anterior."
M. मागें "behind,"	मागचा "posterior."

Substantives are also formed in this way, as लोणचें "salted food," "pickle," from लवण "salt." I can hardly venture so far as to say that this stem is not found in the other languages at all; for I think I have seen isolated instances in P. and G.: but I may safely say that it does not in any, except Marathi and Sindhi, attain to anything like general use. In those two languages it vindicates its claim to be considered as a descendant of stems in त्य, both from the phonetic consideration, and from the fidelity with which it retains the meaning of possession, combined most frequently with that of place. I cannot accept Dr. Trumpp's theory, which would connect this stem with the Skr. *ika* through a change of *k* to *ch*.

Ika is one of the great *k* group, of which so much was said under the primary stems, and which must be again introduced here, because it is extensively worked to form secondary stems. We have already seen what *ika* becomes as a primary among the rest, and shall not be led to suspect it of changing to *ch*. In Vol. I. p. 269, it was shown that this organic change, though there are traces of it in Skr. and Pr., is not by any means a characteristic feature of the modern languages, and the few instances in which it does occur are those of initials.

To come to the group in *ka*, which need not, however, detain us long, as in the discussion of its use in primary stems, the method of its application was explained. Of *aka* as a distinctly secondary form little trace, if any, exists,—that is to say, we cannot point to a class of words being either abstract nouns, possessives, or appellatives, which are evidently formed from other nouns. Of *ika*, in Marathi, forming nouns in या, and of its connected forms in the other languages, notice was taken in § 18 (1), γ, to which I have only to add some cases in which the क is retained, as in Sindhi

वापारिको "mercantile," from वापारु "trade."
वाणिको "commercial," „ वाणो "shopkeeper."
हारिको "rustic," „ हारी "peasant."

In the other languages this form is rare, and generally found in Tatsamas or very recent Tadbhavas, such as सामाजिक in use in all, "relating to an assembly," from समाज "an assembly."

उक is used in Sindhi to make adjectives implying habitual actions or states, thus also inhabitants of any country.

हाजू "injurious,"	from	हाजि "injury."
वेरू "revengeful,"	,,	वेर "revenge."
छापिरू "mountaineer"	,,	छपर "hill."
वाखिरू "a man of Bakhar,"	,,	वखर "Bakhar."

Such secondary words of this type as exist in the other languages, as, for instance, H. पेटू "a glutton," from पेट, have been sufficiently exhibited under primaries, and need not be again referred to.

There is only one other member of the *k*-group which remains. Sindhi adds *oko* to nouns and adverbs to signify adjectives of time, as

वरिहोको "yearly,"	from	वरिङ "year."
रातीको "nightly,"	,,	राति "night."

In all these cases the final vowel of the stem is rejected, and the suffix joined to the bare root.

§ 22. As we draw near to the end of this long series of stems, the illustrations become more and more confined to one or two languages, and we seem to have exhausted the powers of those members of the group which are least prolific. Marathi and Sindhi keep up the game to the last, and in this, as in all other respects, show themselves more fertile in varied developments than their sister tongues. But this fertility is not for them a legitimate cause for boasting; they are, on the contrary, suffering from an objectionable plethora of forms. Among all the vast range of secondary forms there is very little variety of meaning; the English *-y*, *-ness*, *-ship*, and *-hood*, do between them as much

work as thirty or forty different suffixes in Sindhi, and it is not pretended that each of these suffixes has in itself some subtly restricted shade of meaning which separates it from the others, and renders it in a special manner appropriate to the individual word with which it is bound up. Bengali gets on very well with one or two, and Hindi with eight or ten suffixes; but Marathi and Sindhi cannot be contented without exhibiting some suffix for each of the innumerable Sanskrit pratyayas, both *kridanta* and *taddhita*. Under these circumstances it seems needless to wear out the reader's patience by going minutely into each one of them, more especially as some of them are of such rare occurrence as only to have a word or two apiece. I shall therefore wind up this portion of the subject by briefly enumerating, with one or two examples to each, such remaining forms as I have met with; and if the reader should be acquainted with any other forms than those I have set down—as readers acquainted with the spoken vernaculars probably will be—he will have no difficulty in determining where to place it in the general system.

The Skr. suffix **मय** produces a stem in **ऑं ओं** in Sindhi, as

हैड़ु "turmeric," **हैड़ाँ ओं** "coloured with turmeric."

I am unable to find any traces of this form in the other languages, except in Tatsamas. The **य** is dropped, giving a Pr. **मओ**, and the **म** softens into *anunâsika*, with lengthening of its vowel, which is then brought forward in order that the *anunâsika* may be utilized in filling the hiatus. The process as a whole seems unique, though resting on phonetic changes for which there is abundant analogy.

Sindhi has also stems in *iru*, from the Skr. suffix **र**, in which it stands alone, as in Skr. **र** forms diminutives, in which practice it is followed by the other languages. Sindhi, however, makes appellatives and attributives, as

संधिरु "housebreaker," from **संधि** "a hole made by burglars."

The same language has also a series, peculiar to itself, of stems in आणो, इणो, ऊणो, which are in the main possessives. Thus

चोर "thief,"	चोराणो "of a thief."
चंदु "moon,"	चांड्णो "moonlight."
सेठि "merchant,"	सेठूणो "of a Seth."

Connected with which are stems in *âṇî*, as patronymics, thus

आर्याणी "son of आरी."

And in *îṇo*, as

सडीणो "affianced," from सडु "connexion by marriage."

To these may be added *âṭho*, perhaps from Skr. आट:

पाखाठो "damp," from पाणी "water."

And *âso*, from Skr. श, as

वार्यासो "sandy," from वारी "sand."

As to the origin of all these forms there is much doubt. Standing so much alone as they do, and unsupported by corresponding forms in the other languages, it is difficult to know whence to trace them. Trumpp deduces the first from the Skr. suffix इन, which, however, does not seem sufficient for the vowel-changes in *âṇo* and *ûṇo*. The second is probably from Skr. आयनि, and the third from ईन.

There are several other forms given by Trumpp, but most of those omitted from this list are to be accounted for under the verb, and may therefore be passed over at present. The same holds good of several stems in Marathi, such as those in कर, की and the like, and in Gujarati.

§ 23. Some of the languages are not content with one suffix, but will take two in the same word; in this case it is generally *ika* in one or other of its forms which does duty as a second

suffix. Thus in Sindhi stems *âṇo, ûṇo,* we find subsidiary forms *âṇiko, ûṇiko,* as

चोराणिको "of a thief," from चोर + आण + इको.
अगूणिको "preceding," ,, अगु + ऊण + इको.

These double forms do not differ in meaning from the single forms, and it is probably to this tendency to use *ika* as a meaningless expletive, which recalls to us the similar habit in Prakrit of attaching a क to all and every Sanskrit noun at will, that we should refer a numerous class of obscure words in all the languages, in which, by the side of the regular stem, we have an augmented stem in *iâ* or *uâ*. Thus O. uses ब्राह्मणपणिआ for "the business of a Brahman," where we have the suffix पण augmented by इआ = इक. Rustic Hindi has दुहालिआ "milch (cow)," which is दूध + आलु + इक. In the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi the terminations *iâ* and *uâ* are added by the vulgar to all nouns, whether primary or secondary, without altering the meaning. Other cases, where there are apparently two suffixes, would be more accurately described as compounds, where the latter member, being a verbal root, has become so common as to look almost like a suffix.

§ 24. Diminutives, as well as a nondescript class of words either contemptuous or jocose or familiar, besides jingling and fanciful formations, are very common in all these vernacular languages, and in many cases the terminations in themselves are absolutely meaningless, and incapable of being solemnly and scientifically traced back to the ancient languages. In such a maze of playful or vulgar developments it would be but waste of time to attempt an elaborate arrangement; the human mind makes a tool of the tongue, and strikes out for itself sounds which satisfy its needs without regard to grammar or etymology. It will be more useful and more interesting therefore to state what forms the languages employ, than to try and find out why they employ them.

The relative size and quality of material objects are elegantly shown in all the languages by change of gender. In this respect they agree with the old Teutonic family, and other members of the great Indo-Germanic class. Masculine nouns express objects which are large, strong, or coarse; feminine those which are small, weak, or fine; and where the neuter exists, it expresses things dull, inanimate, or sexless. This will be more fully drawn out in the next Chapter.

The commonest type of the diminutive is that which has for its characteristic the letter ड; the words of this class occasionally end in this letter simply, but more frequently take the long vowel-ending, as डा, डी, डें, डुं. This ड appears to have arisen from the Sanskrit suffix र, which in that language also forms diminutives, and is retained under the forms रा, री, etc., in many of the seven languages. It also occasionally modulates into ल, as might be expected, and in a few rather exceptional cases, chiefly in Marathi, appears as ह. In point of meaning, this termination has a wide range, from words which are pure diminutives to those in which the sense of smallness is only to be made out by researches into the original meaning; then to those in which the idea is that of contempt or familiarity, fondness or trifling; till at last we come to words which have lost all sense of smallness, and are simple appellatives. In this last class it is often impossible, or, in the present state of the subject, very hazardous, to suggest a primitive word, from which that in actual use may have been formed. The words of this class are the pure offspring of the popular mind, and consequently, though the principle involved in their formation is the same in the whole seven, yet the speakers of each language have formed their own words separately, so that, except in closely allied languages, as Hindi and Panjabi, it is rare to find an instance running through two or more. It will, therefore, be advisable here, as it was in many of the primary and secondary stems, to take each language separately.

Sindhi is clearer in respect of this form than its sisters, having a greater number of the words of this type in use as pure diminutives, and not so many as contemptuous, familiar, or appellative terms. Trumpp gives the following:

पंधु "journey" (Skr. पथ "path")	पंधडो "short journey."
हटु "shop,"	हटिडो "small shop."
ज़िंदु "life,"	ज़िंदुडो "short life."
विज़ु "lightning" (Skr. विद्युत्),	विज़ुडो "brief flash of lightning."

In the case of words ending in *u* masc., the suffix is either added to the oblique form in *a*, or the final *u* is changed to *i*,—in the latter case probably from the influence of the *î* of the fem. termination; but where the *u* is the feminine ending, it remains unchanged.

Similarly, nouns in *o* change that letter to *a* or *i*; of the former an instance is हिँअडो "sweetheart," from हिँओ "heart;" of the latter भोलिडो "a small monkey," from भोलो "monkey."

Feminines in *a* and *i* retain those vowels unaltered; but *î* and *û* are changed to *ia* and *ua* respectively, or in other words the suffix is added to the oblique form, as

मंधी "churning staff" (Skr. मन्थ),	मंधिअडो "a small churning staff."
भटू "scorpion,"	भटुअडी "a small scorpion."

There is also a suffix *ro*, joined only to adjectives in the oblique form (nouns in *o* make their oblique in *e*), to signify somewhat of the quality indiçated by the primary, and corresponding to the English termination "*-ish*," as

ड़िघो "long,"	ड़िघेरो "longish."
घोरो "small,"	घोरेरो "smallish."

This latter often takes a double suffix, as घोरेरिडो "very small."

Marathi, with its customary fullness of forms, has a wide

range in diminutives, and sometimes uses two to one word. Thus:

गांठ "knot," गांठोडिं "a bundle," गांठोडी "a small bundle," also गांठोळिं, गांठोळी.

खांड "piece," खांडोडिं "a small bit," also खांडोरिं, खांडोळिं.

चिंध "rag" (चिंधी, चिंधडी "a poor rag" (contemptuously).

चाम "leather," चामडिं "skin," "hide," चामडी "the human skin." Here the sense of diminutiveness is lost.

गांव "village," गांवढें "a small village."

Skr. शाव "young of an animal," छावडा "darling," "little pet" (said to a child).

Marathi has for adjectives also the termination ला, corresponding to Sindhi रो, and, like it, with the union vowel *e* after oxytone nouns, as

गोरा "fair," "light-coloured," गोरेला "fairish."

But it uses the form in डा also for this sense, as लांवोडा, लांवोळा "longish," from लांब "long."

The termination डो, डी, डुं, is extremely frequent in Gujarati, so much so indeed that words of this type have in many cases lost the sense of smallness, and stand alone for the primary idea, having pushed the old primary word quite out of the language; such are:

दाहाडो, दाडो "day," from दिवस, through दिहा, दहा.

मोहोडुं "face," „ मुख „ मुऊ.

That this latter word is strictly a diminutive is shown by the existence of the intermediate form मूखडुं; the original word मुख meaning "the whole face," मूखडुं is restricted to the sense of "mouth," and this brings it under the definition of a diminutive, because that class of words not only describes a smaller article of the same kind as the primary, but also an analogous or allied article of a pettier, narrower, or partial kind.

With the pure sense of diminution are found the following words in ordinary use :

गामडुं "hamlet,"	from	गाम "village."
घांटडी "small bell,"	,,	घांट "bell."
जिवडो "little darling,"	,,	जीव "life," P. जिउडी.
भुखडो "somewhat hungry,"	,,	भूख्यो "hungry."
पलंगडी "a small bedstead,"	,,	पलंग "bedstead" (Skr. पर्यंक).
वैरागडो "a rascally sham hermit,"	,,	वैरागी "an ascetic."
महादेवडो "a trumpery old idol,"	,,	महादेव "an idol of Śiva."

These last two are contemptuous, a very common use of the diminutive in all languages. Familiar and slightly contemptuous, but at times with somewhat of a kindly meaning, are :

वायडी "a wife,"	from	वाई "lady."
भाइडो "husband,"	,,	भाई "brother" (used as a respectful term to males).

These two words correspond to the vulgar English "the master," and "the missis" (mistress), or to the rustic terms "the good man," "the good wife," as in the Marathi वाईल.

राखोडी "ashes," "rubbish,"	from	राख "ashes."
दोरडी "a string,"	,,	दोर "a rope."
शेरडो "a footpath,"	,,	शेरी "street."

As in Marathi, so also here, the termination लो (Sindhi रो) is used as a diminutive, thus :

चांदलो "a small crescent used as an ornament," from चांद "moon" (Greek *μηνίσκος*, Latin *lunula*).

पाटलो "a small writing-board," from पाटी "plank."

Hindi and Panjabi go together; and Gujarati, in virtue of its position as an isolated dialect of Old-Hindi, exhibits often the same words. In the first-named language the tendency, already mentioned, to express smallness by changing a masculine word into a feminine, operates to reduce the number of

diminutives of the type डा, and a large proportion of the words of this type are now simple appellatives with no special sense of smallness. Common to nearly all the languages are the following words of this class, whose meaning is in most cases somewhat obscured.

H. झोंपडी "hut," "hovel," P. झोंपडी, G. झुपडुं, M. झोंपडी, झोंपडें, O. झुंपुडी, B. झुपडी. The primary word झोंप is not, as far as I know, in use, but it is probably connected with झांप "covering."

H. चमडा "leather," literally, "a small piece of skin" (see Vol. I. p. 345), found in all.

H. छोकडा "boy," Skr. शावक "young of an animal," perhaps already a diminutive from शव "body" (see Vol. I. p. 261, for the numerous modern forms of this word).

H. टिकडी and टिकली "a wafer," "a small round cake," probably a diminutive of टीका "the round sectarial mark which Hindus paint on their foreheads;" this word is derived from Skr. तिलक (see Vol. I. p. 226), which again seems to be a diminutive from तिल "a grain of *til* seed." In P. and G. टेकिडो, टेकिडी, means "a small round hillock;" and in the various meanings given to the cognate words in the other languages we may detect as a general thread of meaning running through them all that of any small round object, as "a mound," "lump," "cake," "wafer," "piece of broken pottery," and the like.

H. डोमडा "a vagabond *Dom*,"	from डोम "an impure caste."
H. ढिलड "lazy,"	,, ढीला "slack,"
H. गठरी "bundle,"	,, गाठ "knot."
H. अंकडी "fishhook" (small hook),	,, अंक "hook."
H. अंखडी "glance of the eye,"	,, आंख "eye."
H. अटारी "small upper room,"	,, अटा "upper room."
H. अंडड़ा "small or bad egg,"	,, अण्डा "egg."
H. खलडा "skin," "hide" (contemptuous)	,, खाल "skin."
H. टुकडा, °डो "small piece,"	,, टुक "piece" (Skr. स्तोक).

In some of these, in Hindi fashion, ड and र are interchange-

able, and additional emphasis is given to the idea of smallness by the use of the feminine termination ई.

Hindi has also a few words in ला, with joining vowels *e* and *o*, as मुरेला "a young peacock," from मोर "a peacock;" सपोला "young snake," from सांप "snake;" or without the joining vowel, as बांसली "a bamboo flute or pipe," from बांस "bamboo" (Skr. वंश), also written बांसरी and बांसुरी. There is also a form which is interesting as exhibiting the retention of the Sanskrit affix क in a diminutive sense; तलैया "a small pond," from ताल "a lake;" मढैया "a small hut," from मण्डप "a shed." The first of these words is derived from Skr. तडाग, Pr. तलाओ, through a fem. तडागिका, of which the Pr. form would be तलाइया; the last is from मंडपिका. The masculine form of this suffix is seen in ढोलक "a small drum," from ढोल "a drum," and perhaps in the rare form वा, G. वो; *aka* in Pr. becomes *ao*, and the व is inserted to soften the hiatus, as in H. बछवा, from बछा "calf" (Skr. वत्स); G. छोडवो "small sprout," from छोड "sprout;" झाडवो "small bush," from झाड "bush." In some feminines from originals with barytone or mute *a* terminations, the diminutive is इया, as

अंबिया "small mango," from अंब, आम "mango."
अंगिया "boddice," ,, अंग "body."

In B. and O. the forms of the diminutive डा are generally the same as in Hindi, and, as in that language, have to a great extent lost their special meaning. In O. especially, and to a great extent in the others, the addition of डा may be made to almost any noun at the will of the speaker, and would in most places be perfectly understood as indicating contempt.

There is to be found more or less frequently throughout the group another diminutive form in ट, generally with joining vowel *e* or *o*. If we consider this ट as allied to the ड of the above-named form, we should have to put it first as an older form, which has been subsequently softened into ड; but there are

difficulties in the way of this process. The junction vowel of the forms ट and ल is either *o* or *e*, which two vowels represent, in my opinion, the nom. masc. and oblique endings respectively of the noun, whereas the junction vowel of the ड form is generally *a*, only occasionally in M. we find *o*. From this it would result that ड is used with words whose ending is *a* mute, or a consonant ट and ल with oxytones in *o* or *â*, oblique *e*; and inasmuch as these vowels in a large number of cases indicate the presence of the suffix *ka* in Prakrit, words formed with them would be early Tadbhavas, as H. मुरेला and the like, while the words in ड would be to a great extent late Tadbhavas. Instances of the ट type are—

S. वाहोटी "small fire," from वाहि "fire" (Skr. वह्नि).
S. ज़ामोटु "village headman," ,, ज़ामु "a chief."

Trumpp, from whom I take these instances, points out that the diminutive in Pashtu is regularly formed by *utai*. Bellew (Pukhto Gr. p. 108) restricts it to nouns ending in ی, and gives as instances:

سړي *saṛai*, "man," سړوتي *saṛoṭai*, "a small man" (which may be written सडोटइ).
لڑکي *ṭargai*, "stick," لڑکوتي *ṭargoṭai*, "small stick," टरगोटइ.
جنۍ *jina-ī*, "girl," جنوتۍ *jinoṭaī*, "little girl," जिनोटई.

The existence of this form in Pashtu is a confirmation of its antiquity, and justifies my attributing it—as I did above from independent reasons—to the early Tadbhava period. It is not so common in the other languages, though instances are not entirely wanting.

In M. चिंधूट and चिधोटी "a wretched rag," from चिंधी "a rag;" but more frequently without the junction vowel merely, as ट, खांवट "a small post," from खांव "post;" उंच "high," उंचट "highish;" खार "salt," खारट "saltish," "brackish;" अळका "scorched," अळकट

"slightly scorched;" चेप "pressing," चेपट "flattish;" चिंब "wet," चिंबट "moist."

H. चमोटी "a small strip of leather," P. G. *id.*, M. चामोटा, °टी, from चाम "leather;" हिरणोटा "a fawn," from हिरण "a deer;" G. लखुं "a writing," लखोटी "a note," "a small letter."

§ 25. In the formation of compound words the modern languages, while lacking the exuberance of the Sanskrit, are not altogether wanting in strength. It will be useless to discuss those words which have been formed in Sanskrit, and borrowed whole from that language in modern times. The modern grammarians needlessly bewilder their pupils by leading them through all the mazes of Tatpurusha, Bahuvrîhi, and all the other methods of making compound words, which are in use in Sanskrit. In the present section it is proposed merely to note the instances that have been found of compounds made in modern times principally from Tadbhava or Desaja materials, and to endeavour to ascertain the law that underlies their structure.

That simplest of all methods of forming compound words, which the Sanskrit grammarians call Tatpurusha, is still in force in our seven languages, as it is in most modern languages of the Indo-Germanic family, being a special characteristic of that family, and surviving through all the changes brought about by time. The seven languages therefore have formed compounds of this sort from their own stores, from Tadbhava and Desaja words. Under this class are included those compounds formed from two nouns one of which governs the other; familiar instances in our own language, which is rich in these words, are *shipowner*, *horseman*, *housekeeper*, and the like. In these words we have an inversion, the governed or dependent word being placed first, whereas in the separate construction they would stand last, as *owner of a ship*, *man on* (or *with*) *a horse*, *keeper of a house*. Further, it is not only in the genitive

relation that the dependent word stands; according to the grammatical rules of each language, it might stand in many of the other cases or relations. In some of the languages, consequently, the dependent word, when put first, takes the oblique form, which is common to all cases of the singular, and by itself denotes simply the state of dependence, the particular kind of dependence being indicated by case-particles, which are omitted in the compound. Thus:

S. घरधणी "housemaster," from घर जो धणी "master of the house;"
S. उतरवाउ "north wind," „ उतर जो वाउ "wind of the north;"

—where घर जो, उतर जो, are the genitives respectively of घर् "house," and उतर् "the north," which ending in the nom. in *u*, form their oblique in *a*. Similarly, in

S. मथेखाऊ "head-eater," from मथे जो खाऊ "eater of the head" (*fig.* tormentor);
S. करनिटुट्टो "hand-broken," „ करनि जो टुट्टो "broken of hands" (*fig.* lazy);

—we have in the first the oblique singular in *e* of the noun मथो, and in the last the oblique plural in *ani* of the noun कर्. Those languages which use the Persian character obscure the real nature of such compounds as these by writing the two words separate, or rather—inasmuch as some Persian letters cannot be joined to the following letters, and native scribes seldom leave any space between their words—it is impossible to say whether the word is written as one or two. Thus in the Persian character گهرڈهني may be meant for one word or two, for all that we can tell from the writing. It is only in the case of those letters which have a separate final form that we can tell: thus منجی کهاؤ must be regarded as two words on account of the final long ي; but if written منجیکهاؤ, it is one word. This is, however, merely a detail of writing; in speech, these words would be regarded as one.

In Hindi the rule of placing the dependent word in the oblique form is disregarded: only one class of nouns, that in *â*, has an oblique form, and this is not cared for; thus we have from घोडा "horse," oblique घोडे, the following compounds:

घुडचढा "horseman," from घोडे का चढा "rider on a horse."
घुडदौड "horse-race," „ घोडे का दौड "running of a horse."
घुडसाल "horse-stable," „ घोडों का साल (शाला) "house for horses."

In all these cases no sign of the oblique form remains; but the Hindi, being sensitive about quantity, shortens the vowel of the first member: thus *â* becomes *a*, *î* becomes *i*, *û* becomes *u*, and the diphthongal vowels *o* and *e* turn respectively into *u* and *i*.

Words ending with the long vowels *â*, *î*, *û*, also generally shorten those vowels, in which case the so shortened vowels drop out altogether: thus, as we have seen, घोडा becomes in composition घुड; so also पानी becomes पन, and लोहू becomes लुहू.

The following examples will illustrate the above remarks:

पनसाला {"a shed for selling water,"} from पानी "water," and शाला "hall."
पनघट "a quay," „ पानी "water," and घाट "a *ghât* or passage."
पनवाडी "a betel-garden," „ पान "betel," and वाडी "garden," also written पंवाडी.
फुलझडी "a kind of firework," „ फूल "flower," and झडी "cascade."
बतबढाव "a prolix talker," „ बात "word," and बढाव "prolongation."
बटमार "a highwayman," „ बाट "road," and मार "striking."
लुहहण्डा (लुहंडा) "iron pot," „ लोहा "iron," and हांडा "pot."
लुहचूर "iron filings," „ लोहा "iron," and चूर "dust."

There is also a class of compounds of the Tatpurusha kind in

which the first letter of the second or governing member is elided, as—

H. फुलेल "an oil scented with flowers," from फूल "flower," and तेल "oil."
H. सडांध "a smell of rotting substances," ,, सडा "rotten," and गंध "smell."

This class is very numerous in Marathi and in Panjabi, less so in the other languages. Instances in Panjabi are—

कपडिआंध "smell of burnt cloth," from कप्पडा "cloth," and गंध "smell."
करिआंध "smell of a camel," ,, करहा "camel," ,, *id.*
कचिआंध "smell of raw meat," ,, कचा "raw," ,, *id.*
खटिआंध "sour smell," ,, खट्टा "sour," ,, *id.*

—in all of which the final long *á* of the first element in the compound is shortened to *i*.

One familiar set of words, however, runs through all the seven, namely that formed by कार "maker." These have been partially given in Vol. I., but may be again detailed here—

Skr. सुवर्णकार "goldsmith," Pr. सोणारो, H. सोनार, P. सुनिआर, S. सोनारो, M. सोनार, B. सोणार, O. सुणारी.

Skr. कुम्भकार "potter," Pr. कुम्हआरो, H. कुम्हार, P. *id.*, M. G. कुंभार, S. कुंभारु, B. कुमार, *vulgo* कुमोर, O. कुम्भार, कुह्मार.

Skr. चर्मकार "leather-worker," Pr. कम्मआरो, H. चमार, P. G. *id.*, M. चाम्हार, S. चमारु, B. चामार, O. चमार.

The Chingana retains the older form in कार, but in the plural with softening of *k* to *g*, as—

machengoro, "fishmonger," from *macho*, "fish."
maseskoro, "butcher," ,, *mas*, "flesh."

The former word is constructed with the plural because it implies "one who sells many fish;" *macheskoro* would mean "a man who only sold one fish."[1]

[1] Paspati, Tching. p. 53.

Similar is the treatment of धार "holder," in

Skr. सूत्रधार "carpenter," Pr. सुत्तहारो (?), H. सुतार, G. *id.*, B. O. छुतार (सुतार), M. सुतार, with dim. सुतारडा, S. सूटहडु;

Skr. स्कंधधार "palanqueen-bearer," Pr. कंधहारो (?) or कंहहारो, H. कहार, M. *id.*;

—where the aspirated letter has been changed to ह and ultimately elided. Further illustrations are—

H. खलेल "scented oil," from खल "sediment of an oil mill," and तेल "oil."

H. राउत "name of a caste," „ राजा "king," and दूत "messenger," or राजा "king," and पुत for पुत्र "son."

M. धूपेल "a resinous oil," „ धूप "smoke," and तेल "oil."

M. आंबटाण {"a smell of sourness,"} „ आंबट "sour," and घाण "smell."

M. कर्पटाण {"a smell of singed food,"} „ कर्पट "burning," and घाण "smell."

Marathi has numerous compounds indicating various kinds of prepared, scented, or medicinal waters, the last element of which is पाणी "water," changed into वणी: thus—

आंबवणी "mango-water," from आंबा "mango," पाणी "water."

झऊवणी "water heated in the sun," „ झऊ "sunlight," *id.*

Of compounds which would be classed as Karmadhâraya by Sanskrit grammarians, many have been preserved from Sanskrit, but the modern languages have created some out of their own stock. Trumpp gives the following from Sindhi:

वड़ाखाऊ "a glutton," वड़ा "great," खाऊ "eater."

घणघुरो "well-wisher," घणो "much," घुर (*s.f.*) "wish."

But others which he adduces, as महाजणु "a merchant," from महा + जन = "a great man," and परलोकु "the other world," are Sanskrit, and are in use in all the languages.

The following instances of modern Karmadhârayas are from Hindi:

बड़पेटा "big-bellied,"	from	बड़ा "big,"	and	पेट "belly."
भलमानुस "polite,"	,,	भला "good,"	,,	मानुस "man."
लमतंगा "long-legged,"	,,	लम्बा "long,"	,,	तंगा "leg."
अधकपाली "hemiplegia,"	,,	आधा "half,"	,,	कपाल "skull."
अधकचा "half-ripe,"	,,	आधा "half,"	,,	कचा "raw."
लमकन्ना "a hare" (*lit.* long-eared)	,,	लम्बा "long,"	,,	कान "ear."

The adjective in Hindi typically ending in *á*, an adjectival termination has been added to the nouns which form the last member of these compounds, in all cases in which the compound itself is used adjectivally; and the first member of the compound, if it contains a long vowel, has that vowel euphonically shortened.

Marathi is very rich in compounds, almost more so than any other language of the group. A few instances of Karmadhârayas are here given:

काळमांजर "a pole-cat," from	काळा "black,"	मांजर "cat."	
तांबडमाती "red earth," ,,	तांबडा "red,"	माती "earth."	
लांबतांग्या "long-legged," ,,	लांब "long,"	तांग "leg."	
काळतोंड्या "luckless," ,,	काळा "black,"	तोंड "face."	
बरीगत "prosperity," ,,	बरा "good,"	गत "condition" (गति).	

In Gujarati, as far as I can judge from the works available for consultation, the practice of making compounds out of modern elements is not carried to so great an extent as in some of the other languages. Instances are:

भलमनसाइ "politeness,"	from	भलो "good,"		मानुस "man."
मोटुमाणस "a grandee,"	,,	मोटो "great,"		माणस "man."

Dvigu compounds, namely those in which the first element is a numeral, are exceedingly common in Hindi, and almost

equally so in the other languages; thus with दो "two," as the initial element, sometimes shortened to दु:

H. दोभाषिया "an interpreter," from भाषा "speech."
H. दोपट्टा "a cloth of two breadths," „ पट्टा "strip of cloth."
H. दोलडा "a necklace of two threads," „ लड "thread."
H. दोजीया "pregnant" (with two lives), „ जी "life."
H. दुसेरी "a weight of two sers," „ सेर {"a weight of 2 lbs. Avoirdupois."
H. दुअन्नी "a two-anna piece," „ आना "an anna."

With तीन "three," shortened to ति:

H. तिलडा "a necklace of three threads."
H. तिपौलिया "a building with three doors," from पौल "a door."

With चार "four," which becomes in composition चौ, *i.e.* चउ from चतुर्, with dropping of त्, according to rule, and elision of final र्:

H. चौअन्नी "a four-anna piece."
H. चौकट "a framework for a door," from काट "wood."
H. चौकडी "earring," „ कडी "ring."
H. चौघरा "a box with four partitions," „ घर "house."
H. चौमास "the four months of the rainy season," „ मास "month."

All the compound numerals are Dvigus, as will be noticed presently. It is not necessary to give illustrations from the other languages, as they are formed in precisely the same way as in Hindi.

Dwandwa compounds, strictly speaking, do not exist. The Dwandwas of Sanskrit consisted of two nouns or more compounded together into one word, the latter of which took the terminations of the dual noun of the *a*-stem, or that of the plural, according to the number of things expressed in the

compound. But as the modern languages no longer possess the inflexional terminations of the old synthetical languages, it is clear that no Dwandwas in the Sanskrit sense can exist. There are abundant alliterations where two or more words are put close together, and only the last word takes the case-affixes: thus one may say, हाथी घोडों पर "on elephants and horses;" but these are hardly compounds. The same remark applies to the very numerous cases where a second word is added to the first so as to jingle with it, such second word being for the most part quite meaningless, as in S. बक झक "talk," where झक has no meaning; such are, आस पास H. "near," where आस is meaningless; उलटा पुलटा "upside down," and many others.

Bahuvríhis are easily formed in all the languages by giving an adjectival termination to any of the foregoing classes of compounds, and in fact several of the examples given above are Bahuvríhis. Further illustrations are unnecessary.

§ 26. *Numerals.*—The cardinal numbers up to ten inclusive are simple adjectives, some of which are declinable, others not; from eleven up to ninety-nine they are, as was stated in the last section, compounds to a certain extent of the Dvigu character. Each numeral, though a strong family likeness runs through them all, stands on its own basis, and is derived directly from Prakrit, through the operation of the phonetic laws of its own language, and it will therefore be necessary to examine each one separately and in detail.

One.—Skr. एक, Pr. एक्क, H. एक, P. इक, S. हिकु, हेकु, एकु, हिकिडो, हेकिडो (Sindhi is never contented with one form); G. एक, usually written એક; M. एक, येक, O. B. एक; Gipsy *yek*. It is indeclinable in H. and P., but may take case-affixes when standing alone; the two Sindhi forms in डो are diminutives, and that language has put on an ह in front, the reason for which is not apparent. B. pronounces it very short and harsh,

something like *yack*, rhyming with the English words *pack*, *stack*. The ए is long in all the other languages except P. and S., and the double क of Prakrit has therefore been reduced to a single. Old-H. has constantly इक and इक्क.

Two.—Skr. base द्व and द्वि, Pr. दो, H. दो, P. दो, M. दोन, O. B. दुइ, Gipsy *dui*; but S. वे, G. बे. Here S. and G. stand apart from the others, they having, as pointed out in Vol. I. p. 331, assimilated the द to the व, and thus made ब्व, out of which S. gets its peculiar sound ड़; S. appears to have taken the base द्व, and G. the base द्वि. H. and P. have probably also taken the base द्व, and resolved the semivowel into its vowel, thus getting दुअ, whence दो; the forms दोय, दोई, दूइ, and दुइ are, however, found in the earlier poets. M. दोन contains the type of the neuter plural; this is unknown in Skr., and has probably been extended to this numeral from M. तीन "three."

Three.—Skr. base त्रि, nom. pl. neut. त्रीणि, whence Pr. तिण्णि, and Gipsy *trin*, H. तीन, P. तिंन, G. तण, M. तीन, O. तिनि, B. तिन. All these are neuter plurals by origin, and from this, as observed above, M. has apparently imitated its दोन "two." P. has also a commonly used form त्रै, which agrees with S. ट्रै, as far as the subjoined र and vowel are concerned; but S. has changed त into ट, under the influence of the following र: both these forms lead back to the Skr. masc. त्रयः. If it be asked why two languages out of the group should adopt the masculine, while the others take the neuter, it might be answered, that S. and P. (especially S.) are often more archaic in their forms than the other languages, and that H. has probably not deliberately adopted the neuter plural; but as *three* is the first numeral that has a distinctly plural meaning—*one* and *two* being respectively singular and dual in the parent speech—H. has indicated the idea of plurality by adding the sign which indicates plurality in the noun, where, as it will be seen here-

after, the termination of the neuter plural has usurped the place of all other plural forms. Kashmiri, a very archaic dialect, uses चिह, and we may therefore place it, together with the Gipsy, P. and S., on a higher level of antiquity than the others; Gipsy by its additional न (unless this is to be considered merely as anunâsika) standing halfway between the three western languages and H., and its followers O. B. and G. It is characteristic of G. to be careless about short vowels; तण for तिण is a parallel to तम "ye," for तुम.

Four.—Skr. base चतुर्, neut. pl. चत्वारि, whence Pr. चत्तारि, B. and O. चारि, S. चारि, H. P. G. M. चार, Gipsy *star, shtar, ishtar*, probably by inversion from *tsar*, च having in M., and possibly formerly in S. also, sometimes the sound of *ts*, also in Kashmiri *tsor* = चोर, a sound due to non-Aryan influences.

The entire loss of the nexus त्र, which had become त्त in Prakrit, is unusual, but possible in the case of so-much-used a word as this, and it need not surprise us when we think of तत्स्थाने = तहां, colloquially तां.

Five.—Skr. base पंचन्, but the final *n* drops in the nominative, and in fact throughout the declension. Pr. पञ्च, H. पांच, and so in M. G. B. and O., but S. and P. have पंज, with the tenuis softened to its media. Gipsy and Kashmiri have *pântsh*, which is written in the latter पांझ, and M., though it writes पांच, pronounces *pânts*.

Six.—Skr. base षष्, but nom. षट्, which is also the declensional base. Pr. छ, whence H. छ, and dialectically छे, P. छे, S. छ and छह, G. छ, O. छअ (pronounced *chhŏh*), B. छय; but M. सहा, where the स is regular Marathi for छ, see Vol. I. p. 218, and the ह akin to S. छह. How ष came into छ it does not concern us to inquire, as the process took place in earlier times than we are dealing with; Kashmiri has still श, as शिह, with which may be compared Gipsy (शो, शोव) *sho, shov*.

SEVEN.—Skr. सप्त, the न् being dropped as in पञ्चन्, Pr. सत्त, whence H. सात (see Vol. I. p. 287), where this numeral is treated of as illustrating the strong nexus). The Gipsies use *efta*, which shows traces of Greek influence, ἑπτὰ becoming ἑφτά; as Paspati (p. 77) points out, there is a frequently occurring change of π to ϕ in the transition of words from Greek to Chingana.

EIGHT.—Skr. अष्टौ or अष्ट, Prakrit अट्ठ, H. आठ, P. अट्ठ, S. अठ, M. G. O. आठ, B. आट. All these are regular phonetic changes. Kashmiri has also आठ, but Gipsy again approaches the Greek with *ochto*, which Paspati says is modern Greek ὀχτώ for ὀκτώ.

NINE.—Skr. नव, Pr. णअ, H. नौ, which is also written नव, P. नौं or नउं, S. नँवँ, G. M. नव, O. नअ (*nŏh*), B. नय, Kashmiri नौ and नौं, Gipsy again Greek *enea*=ἐννεά. Had the Gipsies only learnt to count as far as six when they left India? With the exception of ten and twenty, they have few distinctly Indian numbers above six.

TEN.—Skr. दश, Prakrit दस, whence H. दस, B. and O. दश in literature, thanks to the Pandits; but people when they talk or write to one another use दस; G. दस, P. दस and दह, M. दहा, which is strange, as M. does not usually change स to ह. S., as might be expected, has डह, Kashmiri दह, Gipsy *desh*. This numeral presents no special features.

There is a regular ascending scale in the numerals. The cardinals up to ten are simple derivatives from Sanskrit; from ten to nineteen they are compound derivatives from the same, but inherit the system of composition handed down from the earlier language. From nineteen onwards they form their numerals in a way of their own, which agrees at the same time in principle with that of Sanskrit, but differs from it so far that the materials of which the compounds are composed are of modern origin in many respects.

It will be more convenient to exhibit each group in a tabular form. Here follows the group of "tens":—

	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Skr.	एकादश	द्वादश	त्रयोदश	चतुर्दश	पंचदश	षोडश	सप्तदश	अष्टादश	ऊनविंशति
Pr.	एआरह	बारह	तेरह	चउद्दह	पयारह	सोलह	सत्तरह	अट्ठरह	ऊनवीसइ
H.	इगारह / ग्यारह	बारह	तेरह	चौदह	पंद्रह	सोलह	सत्तरह	अठारह	उनीस
P.	गिआरां	बारां	तेरां	चौदां	पंद्रां	सोळां	सतारां	अठारां	उन्नीह
S.	इकारहं / यारहं	बारहं	तेरहं	चौडहं	पंद्रहं / पंधां	सोरहं	सत्तहं	अडहं	उणीह
G.	अगिआर	बार	तेर	चउद	पंदर	सोळ	सतर	अढार / अराड	ओगणीस
M.	अकरा	बारा	तेरा	चौदा	पंधरा	सोळा	सत्ता	अठरा	एकुणीस
O.	एगार	बार	तेर	चौद	पंधर	सोहळ	सतर	अठर	उनाइश
B.	एगार	बारो	तेरो	चौद्द	पोनेर	षोल	सतेर	आठार	ऊनिश

These all follow Vararuchi's well-known rule ii. 14, by which the द्द् of दश् is changed to र्, and ii. 44, by which श्

is changed to ह. This type रह is throughout retained by H., which even in "sixteen" has dialectically सोरह as well as the more classical सोलह; the final ह, however, not being a favourite or common ending in any of the languages, is mostly dropped, and its place supplied by long *á*, produced by combination of the two short vowels; thus बारह becomes बारअ by elision of ह, and then M. बारा. The final long *o*, which is exhibited above in B., is quite inorganic, and arises from the habit Bengalis have of pronouncing অ as *ŏ*; this short *o* is lengthened in counting, and we thus find বারো, but it would be quite as correct, or rather more so, to write বার, pronouncing *bárŏ*. P. and S. add anunâsika throughout, and S. retains the ह, but it can hardly be said that the nasalization of the final syllable has any organic foundation: it is, I believe, merely another instance of the nasal way these people speak. One often hears a distinctly nasal twang given by natives to words where no nasal is written; and until some better and more rational standard of spelling shall be introduced, it is merely fighting with the air to reason about the origin of these anunâsikas, many of which are nothing more than local accent, and have no foundation in etymology.

As to "eleven," it is noticeable that the क, which was dropped in scenic Prakrit, still holds its place, though sometimes softened to ग, or even य, in the moderns; the ज् or य which appears in H. ग्यारह, P. and G., is probably by inversion from द्ग°, and the prosthetic অ of G. is inorganic. In "twelve" is seen the rejection of the initial द् already noticed. "Thirteen" seems to have been wrongly worked out by Cowell; following Vararuchi (p. 121, note), he would make *trayodaśa* first into *treyodaśa*, which is not, I think, what Vararuchi means, as in i. 5 he couples *teraha* with *sunderam* = *saundaryam*, and similar words. He probably supposes a transposed form *taryodaśa*, which by his rule becomes *terodaśa*, by the palatal vowel leaping over into the preceding syllable (Vol. I. p. 135): the steps are *trayo, taryo, tario, taïro, tero*. Then the syn-

chronous change of *daśa* to *raha* produces *teroraha*, easily contracted to *teraha* in Pr., because *o* is habitually short, and *terŏraha*, *ter'raha*, is a natural contraction.

In the case of "fourteen," Prakrit does not change द् to र, probably because the र् of चतुर् had been assimilated to the following द्, making द्द; this is followed by all the languages except S., which sticks to its favourite ड.

More irregular than the foregoing is "fifteen." Here the anuswâra operates, and by Var. iii. 44, the nexus ञ्च is changed to ण्ण (it would in Pali have been ञ्ञ). This double *n* has become anuswâra, and द् inserted, or in some cases ध, owing to the influence perhaps of the following र. Bengali has preserved the Prakrit type, merely lengthening the vowels by its broad rustic pronunciation. Here also the ো is an eccentricity for *ŏ*=অ, and one might accurately write পনের.

Skr. has in "sixteen" changed the द् of दश् to ड, under the influence of the final ट् of षट्, and this cerebral sound is expressed in the moderns by ळ in those languages which possess that sound, and by र or ह in those which do not. I am not aware of any authority for a Pr. form सोलह, and give it as mere conjecture, following Trumpp; though perhaps सोरह would be more correct for छो=षष् and रह=दश्.

Of the remaining two there is only this to remark, that P. lengthens the second syllable of "seventeen" in imitation of "eighteen," while M. reverses the process, shortening "eighteen" in imitation of "seventeen."

The form for "nineteen" means "twenty less one," and was probably originally एकोनविंशति, from which we get the G. ओगणीस, by inversion for अगोणीस, and Old-H. अगुनीस and गुनीस; M. preserves an accurate form in एकुणीस. The same system prevails in "twenty-nine," "thirty-nine," and the rest. Prakrit has एकुण° and एगुण° (Weber, Bhag. p. 426).

The series "twenty-two," "thirty-two," "forty-two," etc., has been exhibited at Vol. I. p. 331, and the series "twenty-seven,"

"thirty-seven," and the rest, at p. 289, where also is shown the series "seventy-one," "seventy-two," etc., so that it is unnecessary to give these in detail again; the forms of "seventy" are included in the following table for completeness' sake, and because there are some inaccuracies in the forms given in Vol. I. p. 288:

	XX.	XXX.	XL.	L.	LX.	LXX.	LXXX.	XC.	C.
Skr.	विंशति	त्रिंशत्	चत्वारिंशत्	पंचाशत्	षष्टि	सप्तति	अशीति	नवति	शत
Pr.	वीसइ	तीसा[1]	चत्तालीसा[1]	पण्णासा	सट्ठि[1]	सत्तरि[1]	असीइ[1]	णउए	सय, सत्त
H.	बीस	तीस	चालीस	पचास	साठ	सत्तर	अस्सी	नब्बे	सै, सौ
P.	वीह	तीह	चाळी	पंजाह	सट्ठ	सत्तर	अस्सी	नब्बे	सै, सौ
S.	वीह	ट्टीह	चालीह	पंजाह	सठि	सतरि	असी	नवे	सौ
G.	वीस	त्रीस	चाळीस	पचास	साठ	सित्तेर	एंसी	नेवुं	सो
M.	वीस	तीस	चाळीस	पन्नास	साठ	सत्तर	ऐंशी	नव्वद	शंभर
O.		चिय	चालिय	पचास	सठिए	सत्तोरि	ऋषी	नवि	शय
B.	विय	चिय	चल्लिय	पंचास	साएठ	सत्तर	आशी	नब्बइ	शय

[1] Weber, Bhagavatî, p. 426.

Oriya does not use any derivative of विंशति, but instead कुडिए, *i.e.* "score." H. also uses कोड़ी for the same. The languages are quite regular in "twenty" and "thirty," in the latter occasionally retaining the nexus *tr*, but more usually dropping the *r*. In "forty" the Prakrit of the Bhagavatî has changed र to ल, and the nexus *tt* is dropped throughout. More irregular is "fifty," in which, as in "fifteen," Vararuchi's Prakrit substitutes ण for ञ; in this it is followed only by Marathi; the other languages refer back to the Sanskrit form, softening the च into ज in S. and P. only. "Sixty" is also quite regular, as are also "eighty" and "ninety," except that M. and G. make the initial into *e* and *ai* respectively, under the influence of the *i* in the next syllable.

It is when these numerals come to be compounded that they exhibit such wide variations of form, as to render it necessary for the student to learn each number up to "one hundred" separately, and even when the phonetic and structural mechanism is explained, there remains a large residuum of eccentricities and peculiarities. Following the example of Skr., the modern languages do not merely, as do most other families of speech, add one number to another to express the numbers intermediate to each decade, but compound the two elements: thus H. does not say *do aur bîs*, for "two-and-twenty," but makes a single word *bâis*; so do all the other languages. I shall first show the changes which the units undergo, and then those of the tens, as in every case the lesser numeral precedes, and they say "twotwenty," "threetwenty," and the like.

"Two." In by far the greater number of instances the form is बा, as in बारह quoted above, and in the examples given in I. 331. In "thirty-two," however, the long *â* is shortened to *a* before त्त, making बत्तीस. In "forty-two," the च of the चालीस is elided in Pr., when it becomes the second member of a compound, so that we get बायालीसं in Bhag., the य being inserted to fill the hiatus. This य in the moderns either

softens to ए, as in H. बेआलीस "forty-two," or is added to the letter preceding, as O. ब्यालीस. P. here has बत्त°, in imitation of "thirty-two;" G. is irregular in बोहोतेर "seventy-two," and B. and O. insert an inorganic र in बिरासी "eighty-two," बिरानवे "ninety-two." With the exception of these few irregularities, the general type बा° is regularly kept throughout.

"Three." The regular type is ते, shortened in some places to ति, and occasionally with an euphonic र added, making तिर: thus—

H. तेईस "twenty-three," तेतीस or तैंतीस "thirty-three," तेआलीस, also तेत° and तैंत° "forty-three," तिरपन "fifty-three," तिरसठ, ते° "sixty-three," तिहत्तर "seventy-three," तिरासी "eighty-three," तिरानवे "ninety-three."

P. तेई "twenty-three," तेती "thirty-three," तेताली, तिर° and तंत° "forty-three," तिवंजा, तिरं° "fifty-three," तेहठ "sixty-three," तिहत्तर "seventy-three," तिरासी "eighty-three," तिरानवे "ninety-three."

S. त्रेवीह "twenty-three," त्रेत्रीह "thirty-three," त्रेतालीह "forty-three," त्रेवंजाह "fifty-three," त्रेहठि "sixty-three," त्रेहतरि "seventy-three," त्रिआसी "eighty-three," त्रिआनवे "ninety-three."

G. तेवीस "twenty-three," तेतरीस "thirty-three," तेतालीस, तेहे° चें° "forty-three," तेहेपन "fifty-three," तेहेसठ "sixty-three," तोहोतेर "seventy-three," तेआसी, तासी "eighty-three," तांणू "ninety-three."

M. तेवीस "twenty-three," तेतीस "thirty-three," चेचाळीस "forty-three," चेपन्न "fifty-three," चेसष्ट "sixty-three," चेहत्तर "seventy-three," त्र्यांयशी "eighty-three," त्र्यान्नव "ninety-three."

O. तेईश "twenty-three," तेत्रीश "thirty-three," तेयालीश "forty-three," तेपन "fifty-three," तेषठि "sixty-three," तेसुरि "seventy-three," तेयाशी "eighty-three," तियानबे "ninety-three."

B. तेईश "twenty-three," तेत्रीश "thirty-three," तेताल्लीश "forty-three," तिप्पान्न "fifty-three," तेषट्टि "sixty-three," तेहात्तर "seventy-three," तिराशी "eighty-three," तिरानब्बइ "ninety-three."

"Four," takes the compound from चौ throughout, with variant spellings चो, चव, and चउ; the numbers may be made up after the example of the threes, an euphonic र् being inserted before a vowel, like तिर. "Five" is in composition पंच, पञ्च, पैं, and P. and S. पंज, M. has पस in पस्तीस "thirty-five," and G. पिस in पिस्ताळीस "forty-five." "Six" is always छ, छय, or छे, except in M., which is unlike the rest, changing छ into श and स in its usual fashion: thus while "thirty-six" is छत्तीस, and "fifty-six" छप्पन्न, it uses सव्वीस "twenty-six," शेचाळीस "forty-six," सासष्ट "sixty-six," शाहत्तर, शेहत्तर "seventy-six," शांयशी "eighty-six," and शाण्णव "ninety-six." "Seven" and "eight" exhibit no irregularities, and "nine" is not used as a prefix, the periphrasis with ऊन "less than" the next higher number being used in its stead. H. however has नवासी "eighty-nine," and निनानवे "ninety-nine," in which last it agrees with P. नडीनवे and the other dialects. S. has two singular forms, नधानवे and वधानवे, apparently from नव + अधि + नवे "nine upon ninety," or some such expression; in one case the व, in the other the न of नव has suffered elision. Chand uses this method of compounding by means of अधि in the lines—

सो संवत नव सत अद्द ॥
बरस तीस छह अग्ग ॥

"That (was) the year nine hundred (and) over
Years thirty and six before."—i. 221.

meaning to indicate Samvat 936, A.D. 879. The reduplication of the ध is *metri gratiâ*.

With regard to the latter part of the compound, बीस becomes ईस in H., ईश् in O. and B., ई in P., but वीस in G. and M., वीह in S.

तीस remains unchanged. चालीस loses its initial, and sometimes takes त, as in H. तेतालीस.

"Fifty" undergoes very wide changes. In H. it changes from पचास into वन in एका + वन "fifty-one," बावन "fifty-two,"

चौवन "fifty-four," सतावन "fifty-seven," अठावन "fifty-eight;" and into पन in तिरपन "fifty-three," छप्पन "fifty-six," पचपन "fifty-three;" both these are probably the first half of an older form पंचास, the anuswâra of which has been hardened to न, the initial प is softened to व after vowels, unless it be thought preferable to see in these forms a relic of the Pr. पणासा. In P. पंजाह changes to वंजा, except in चौरंजा "fifty-four" and छिपंजा "fifty-six." The same occurs in Sindhi, whose पंजाह is regularly changed to वंजाह, as एकवंजाह "fifty-one." G. follows H., as do also O. and B., with very trifling changes; for "fifty-five," however, they use G. पचावन, O. पंचावन, B. पंचाञ्च, in opposition to H. पचपन.

With "sixty" S. and P. have recourse to their characteristic change of स to ह throughout; thus

P. इकाहट, S. एकहठि "sixty-one."
„ बाहट, „ बाहठि "sixty-two," etc. etc.

This course is followed by all the languages except O. in the analogous case of सत्तर, but only by P. and S. in the case of "sixty." (For the series "seventy-one," "seventy-two," etc., see Vol. I. p. 288.) O. combines the स of सत्तर with the following त्त, one of which it rejects, and inserts a labial vowel, thus producing स्तुरि, as एकस्तुरि, बास्तुरि, etc.

"Eighty" presents no noteworthy features; but in M. नवद् "ninety" rejects the final द्, which is perhaps a relic of the त of नवति in composition, and doubles the न, at the same time restoring the cerebral type of Prakrit, which was inadmissible in the single word, because the न was there initial; thus it gets ण्ण, as in एक्याण्ण "ninety-one." G. follows an analogous process, changing नेउं or नेवुं into णू preceded by anunâsika, as in चोरांणू "ninety-four," पचांणू "ninety-five," छांणू "ninety-six." The other languages are regular.

In the junction of the two elements of these compounds it is to be observed that a long *â* is often inserted, but I am unable to

lay down any rule for its insertion or omission, unless it be that where the initial letter of the second member is weak, *á* is inserted; where it is strong, omitted. Compare H. बाईस "twenty-two" for ब + वीस with बत्तीस "thirty-three" for ब + तीस; but even this rule hardly carries us through all the series. The Prakrit had originated these compound forms long before the modern languages came into existence, and the secret of the composition must therefore be looked for in that stage of speech; and the data for Prakrit numerals are unfortunately so defective, that as yet I have been unable to formulate any rules on the subject. Marathi introduces a joining vowel *e* in the series with "forty," and या in the "seventy," "eighty," and "ninety" series; but the reason of this is not easy to find.

Above "one hundred" composition ceases, and the words are written separately, except in M. G. and S., which, from "one-hundred-and-one" to "one-hundred-and-nine" can combine the lesser numeral with the Skr. उत्तर "above," thus:

"One-hundred-and-one," M. एकोत्तर शें, S. एकोतर सौ, G. एकोत्तर सो.

§ 27. The ordinals of all the languages are formed each on its own basis for the first four numerals, but after that follow a regular system of genuine Sanskrit origin.

"First" has the following forms: H. पहिला, P. *id.*, M. *id.*, S. पहर्यों, पिहर्यों, पिहिरों, G. पेहेलो. O. and B. generally use the Skr. प्रथम, but the H. पहिला is gaining ground, and is heard among the lower orders constantly. If we derive these words from प्रथम, we are met by the difficulty of admitting the change of म into ल or र, and I therefore suppose that they come from an unrecorded comparative प्रथर, which would stand in the same relation to the superlative प्रथम as Latin *prior* does to *primus*. Bopp (§ 293) has already established the fact that प्रथम is the superlative of प्र, and similarly (§ 321) he shows that all the cognate languages use the superlative form, as *primus*, *πρῶτος* for *πρότατος*, and *eristo* = *erst*, from *er* = *eher*.

So also our own "first," in Old-English *fyrst*, is the superlative of "fore." There must also, one would imagine, have been a comparative, and this could be nothing else than प्रथर.

"Second" is H. दूसरा, P. दूजा, दूआ, S. बिओ, बीजो, G. बीजो, M. दुसरा, O. दुसा, but O. and B. often use द्वितीय. It is probable that the rude uncivilized Oriyas and Bengalis did not possess the idea of an ordinal till late times, when they naturally had recourse to Sanskrit to supply the want. Old-H. has also दूजा, which, together with the Panjabi form, are from Skr. द्वितीय, Pr. दुइअं, also दोच्च, but the modern दूजा refers to the form दुइज्जं, formed by hardening the ईय into ज्ज, and then dropping one ज (Vol. I. p. 249). The S. and G. come from another Pr. form वितिअ, reduced by dropping the द; this is further shortened into बीअ. For the H. and M. दू° and दुसरा, see under the next paragraph.

"Third." H. तीसरा, P. तीजा, तीआ, S. ट्रिओ, ट्रीजो, G. तीजो, M. तिसरा, O. and B. तिसा is in use, but तृतीय is common also. This ordinal is parallel to the last, and is derived from the Skr. तृतीय by the same process as the words for "second." The form तीसरा with its analogous दूसरा seems to be a recent compound of the numeral themes दू, ती, with some word meaning *progression*, and probably connected with the root सृ "to go," but there are no certain facts on which to found an opinion.

"Fourth" is regularly derived from the Skr. चतुर्थ, see Vol. I. p. 144.

From "fifth" onwards the ordinals are regularly formed by adding H. वां, Old-H. मो, P. वां, S. ओं, G. मो, M. वा. B. and O., having no ordinals of their own, use the Sanskrit terms when necessary. All these terminations come regularly from the Skr. तम, the termination of the ordinals.[1] Hindi uses for "sixth" छठा, the regular Prakrit form of Skr. षष्ठ, and with this agrees G. छटो, but all the rest are regular.

[1] See for further discussion of this question Chap. III. § 54.

§ 28. Besides the cardinal and ordinal series, the languages have other sets of numerals formed in ways peculiar to themselves. Such are the fractional numbers, in which all the seven languages are rich.

"A quarter" is H. पाव or पाउ, P. *id.*, S. पाउ, G. पाअ, M. पाव, O. पाए, पा, B. पोया (पअ) ; the origin of all these is Skr. पादिक, P. पाइअ "a quarter," the compound सपादिक = "with a quarter," becomes in Pr. सवाइअ, and in H. सवा, P. सवा, सवाइ, सवाइआ, S. सवाई, G. सवा, M. सव्वा, O. सउयाइ, B. सउया (*sau'â*). Thus H. सवा तीन "three and a quarter," and so in all the rest. On the other hand, the deduction of a quarter is expressed by derivatives of Skr. पादोन, *i.e.* पाद + ऊन "a quarter less." H. पौने, P. पउण, पउणे, S. पौणो, G. पोणा, M. पाऊण (nearer to the Skr. than any), O. पौने, B. *id.* Thus पौने तीन "two and three quarters," or "a quarter less than three." In H. P. O. and B. we appear to have the locative form, in the others a nominative.

Two other numbers also are peculiar to this group: "one and a half," H. डेढ from Skr. द्व्यर्ध, concerning which see Vol. I. p. 238, and "two and a half," H. अढ़ाई, P. ढाई, S. अढाई, G. अडी, M. अडीच, O. अढाई, B. आडाइ, the origin of which seems to be Skr. अर्ध + द्वयं, to which M. adds the conjunction च.

For "three and a half," "four and a half," and the rest, the languages add to the complete numeral the word H. P. साढे, S. साढु, G. साडा, M. साडे, O. साढे, B. साडे, from Skr. स + अर्ध = "with a half;" thus "three and a half" is H. साढे तीन, "four and a half" साढे चार, and so on.

The other species of numerals, such as "once," "twice," and the rest, will more appropriately be described under the head of Adverbs.

CHAPTER II.

GENDER.

CONTENTS.—§ 29. Natural and Grammatical Gender.—§ 30. Use of Gender in the Seven Languages.—§ 31. Typical Terminations of the Adjective.—§ 32. Terminations of the Masculine Gender.—§ 33. Terminations of the Feminine.—§ 34. Terminations of the Neuter.—§ 35. Formation of Feminines from Masculines.—§ 36. Gender of Words ending in Consonants.—§ 37. Decay of Gender—its Cause in Bengali and Oriya.

§ 29. Gender is of two kinds, natural and grammatical. Natural gender is that which refers to living beings, and is threefold: there being one form for males, a second for females, and a third for mankind or animals regarded merely as such without reference to sex. The human mind has, however, not rested content with this simple and natural use of gender, but has, by an effort of imagination, extended the distinctions of sex to inanimate objects, abstract ideas, and, in short, to all nouns of every kind. All languages are not alike in this respect: some retain all three genders, others only two, and some have had the good fortune to emancipate themselves entirely in the noun, and to a great extent in the pronoun, from these awkward and cumbersome swaddling-clothes of speech. This is happily the case with our own beautiful and practical language, and is an advantage for which we ought to be deeply thankful to our Norman ancestors, whose keen common sense led them to reject much that was useless and unwieldy in the speech of our English forefathers.

The older languages of the Indo-European family have all

three genders; those of the Semitic family got on very well from the beginning with only two, having never thought of developing the neuter. In the middle and modern Indo-Germanic languages the German still retains all three genders, while most of the others have only two, and some none at all.

Natural gender exists in all languages, grammatical gender only in a certain number. In those which do not observe grammatical gender, natural gender is frequently distinguished by having two separate words for the two sexes; in those which acknowledge both kinds of gender, the distinction is affected by a variation in the form of the word, most frequently in the terminating syllable or vowel. In consequence of this habit, it has come to pass that the form of the word has created the gender; thus, in deciding what gender should be ascribed to a word which indicates an object from its nature incapable of classification by sex, the form of the word is the only guide; and if it happen to be of a form similar to that which is appropriated to the male sex in living beings, it will be classed as masculine; if to the female sex, as feminine; and if to neither, as neuter. Both classes of gender exist in the languages we are considering, but in a very different degree. Gender is in all of them indicated to a great extent by variations of form, especially of termination; but it must be observed that whereas substantives have, as has been shown in the last chapter, a very great range of terminations, adjectives and the participial forms of verbs have very few. It is principally by observing which form of an adjective or participle is used with any given substantive, that we can tell what its gender is. For instance, H. *saṛak*, "a road," is the name of a thing in itself incapable of natural gender; it is only by noting such phrases as *baṛī saṛak*, "a big road," *saṛak banti*, "the road is being made," that we discover it to be feminine. Hence it follows that in those languages which use very few participial forms, or whose adjectives have no distinctive forms for gender, we are unable to trace the

gender of substantives very clearly; such languages have only natural, not grammatical gender, and even the natural gender only in a limited number of instances finds expression in the form of the word used.

§ 30. Sanskrit has all three genders, so have the Prakrits. In the modern languages, only Gujarati and Marathi have all three. Sindhi, Panjabi, and Hindi have only masculine and feminine; Bengali and Oṛiya have no gender at all, except in the pure Sanskrit Tatsamas, now so largely introduced, which retain the form of the Sanskrit gender, but even this only in the higher style. In B. they say छोट बालक "a little boy," छोट बालिका "a little girl," and छोट वस्तु "a little thing." In the highflown literary style they would write सुन्दर नर "a handsome man," सुन्दरी स्त्री "a beautiful woman;" but in the common style, which is, after all, the true language, one would hear सुन्दर मेये for "a beautiful woman," without regard to gender. The same holds good in Oṛiya, and in both, even in the high style, there is no distinction between masculine and neuter. In this Chapter, therefore, we may dispense with these two languages altogether.

In Hindi, Panjabi, and Sindhi, the reduction of the three genders to two has been effected by turning both the masculines and neuters of Sanskrit into masculines; and as the common people in the two first-named countries are very careless about the use of the feminine, it may almost be said that grammatical gender scarcely exists out of books. The use of gender is still further reduced, even in literature, by the fact that a great number of the adjectives in those two languages end in consonants, and do not possess separate forms for masculine and feminine, so that they afford no clue to the gender of the substantive, which is only perceptible from the numerous participial forms of the verb.

In Sindhi some of the neuter nouns of Sanskrit have become

feminine, but the most part are masculine. As before mentioned, all nouns in Sindhi end in a vowel, and the distinction of gender is therefore more clearly recognizable than in the other languages wherein consonantal terminations abound. There are, however, some adjectives, mostly of Arabic or Persian origin (though some are pure Sindhi), which, although ending in a vowel, do not change either for gender, number, or case; as सर्सु "plentiful," Skr. सरस; गड़ु "mixed," Skr. गाढ; सहिजु "easy," Skr. सह्य; which are Sanskritic; and تَمَامُ "whole," خُوبُ "good," حَيرَانُ "distressed," which are Arabic and Persian.

Marathi still retains in full and every-day use the whole three genders, and the same is true of Gujarati. Not only have the substantives three genders, but the adjectives also, and the greater part of the tenses of the verb, being participial in form, have also three genders, so that to a foreigner the difference in this respect between these two stilted languages and the simple, easy, but in no whit less expressive Bengali, is at every turn apparent.

In all the five languages which have gender expressed, the masculine is used to denote large, strong, heavy and coarse objects; the feminine small, weak, light and fine ones; and the neuter, where it exists, represents dull, inert, and often contemptible things. So far is this carried, that in cases where the original word was only masculine or neuter, a feminine form has been invented to express a smaller or finer article of the same kind; and, conversely, where only a feminine form existed, a masculine to express a larger or coarser object has been struck out. Instances are:

Skr. भाण्डं "pot" (*n.*), H. हांडा "a large cooking pot" (*m.*), हांडी "a small cauldron," or "earthen pot" (*f.*).

Skr. गुड and गोल "ball" (*m.*), H. गोला "cannon-ball" (*m.*), गोली "bullet," "pill" (*f.*).

Skr. रश्मि "rope" (*m.*), H. रस्सा "cable" (*m.*), रस्सी "string," "cord" (*f.*).

Here the final *i* of *raçmi* having been lengthened, and *î* being universally regarded as a feminine termination, a masculine in *â* has been created. This distinction runs through all the languages, and is even found in B. and O., which, although careless in the matter of gender, still recognize the difference between the termination in *â*, as denoting larger objects, and that in *î*, as denoting smaller. This will be more fully treated under the heads of the various terminations.

In M., with its three genders, the different shades of a common meaning, as indicated by gender, are illustrated by the following examples:

चिरटा (*m.*), "a large piece torn from a plantain leaf, used to wrap up goods in."

चिरटी (*f.*), "a small piece of the above."

चिरणा (*m.*), the same as चिरटा.

चिरणी (*f.*), the same as चिरटी, also "a small chisel."

चिरणें (*n.*), "a small chisel," "the act of tearing."

गाडा (*m.*), "a large cart, or waggon, for conveying loads."

गाडी (*f.*), "a small cart or carriage for conveying persons."

गाडें (*n.*), "a clumsy or ricketty old car or dray."

दोर (*m.*), "a cable."

दोरी (*f.*), "a thread."

दोरा (*m.*), "a string," "thread," "streamlet," "track."

धोंडा (*m.*), "a stone."

धोंडी (*f.*), "a large mass of rock." (Here the fem. expresses the larger object, which is unusual.)

In the case of animals, the masculine and feminine indicate the respective sexes, and the neuter either the young or the whole species collectively; as

घोडा (*m.*), "horse."

घोडी (*f.*), "mare."

घोडं (*n.*), "the horse," *i.e.* the genus *Equus* generally.

बकरा (*m.*), "a he-goat."

बकरी (*f.*), "a she-goat."

बकरं and बकरूं (*n.*), "a kid," also the goat species in general.

The same practice exists in Gujarati; as

घोडो (*m.*), "horse."

घोडी (*f.*), "mare."

घोडुं (*n.*), "a wretched screw of a horse," also horses in general[1] or collectively.

पाडो (*m.*), "a buffalo-bull."

पाडी (*f.*), "a buffalo-cow."

पाडुं (*n.*), "a buffalo-calf."

These peculiarities of gender and its terminations will come out clearly as we work through this Chapter, and need not be further illustrated here.

§ 31. The adjective in all the languages exhibits the general type of the terminations for gender, and is so fixed and regular as to afford a standard for each language. The general type of the adjective is as follows:

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
	M.	F.	N.	M.	F.	N.
Hindi.....	*á*	*í*	—	*e*	*ĩ* and *íã̄*	—
Panjabi....	*á*	*í*	—	*e*	*íã̄.*	—
Sindhi.....	*o*	*í*	—	*á*	*iyuṉ.*	—
Gujarati ...	*o*	*í*	*uṉ*	*á*	*í*	*áṉ.*
Marathi....	*á*	*í*	*eṉ*	*e*	*yá*	*ĩṉ.*

It is not of course meant that these are the only terminations of the adjective or participle, but that among the numerous

[1] Narmadâs'ankar's example is: "When the Gackwar came to Bombay, he brought a great number of horses (*ghaṇuṉ ghoṛuṉ*) with him."

terminations that are found these are the chief, and, so to speak, radical ones; the others may be regarded as exceptions and deviations, to be explained in their place.

In the participial forms which so largely enter into the construction of all verbs, these terminations are unvaryingly used for the respective genders, except in some instances in Marathi, in which the incorporation of the substantive verb into the participle has, by the operation of euphonic laws, wrought a change in the vowel.

Taking then the terminations of the adjective as the central type, it will now be necessary to go through the range of substantive terminations in order, so as to get at a clear comparison of them all, and to ascertain which are regularly derived from the central type, and which are exceptions, to be accounted for in other ways.

§ 32 (1). The masculine termination *á* in H. P. M., and occasionally B. and O., corresponds to the termination *o* in S. and G. in a large majority of instances: as

H. बच्चा "child," and so in all; but G. बच्चो, S. बच्चो.

This termination is in S. masculine, without any exceptions; in G., however, some words in *o* are feminine, in which the *o* is not the *pratyaya*, or formative syllable derived from the Sanskrit *-as*, Pr. *-o*, as in the above-mentioned class, but arises from some phonetic corruption of the root-syllable. Such are the feminine nouns.

G. જળો "leech,"	Skr. जलौका (*f.*).
G. છો "mortar,"	,, चोद् (*m.*).
G. ઘો "lizard,"	,, गोधा (*f.*) (ઘો for ગોહ).

The number of these words is not large, nor are they in themselves important.

The termination in *á* exists throughout the whole seven languages, including G. and S., in certain words: these are—

(*a*). Words derived from Skr. nouns in *an*, like राजन्, the nominative of which ends in Skr. in *á*. Such are राजा "king" (*m.*), in all; आत्मा "soul" (*m.*), in all. Nouns neuter in Skr. of this form end in the short vowel, as नामन् "name," H. नाम, *m.* in all, except M. and G., where it is neuter. महिमा "greatness," however, is used as a fem. in H. P. and S., and as both *m.* and *f.* in M. G. has preserved the real gender of the Skr., in which language महिमन् is masc.

(*β*). Words derived from Skr. nouns in तृ, making their nominative in ता. Of this form are a great number of Tatsamas denoting the agent, as कर्ता, दाता, etc.

(*γ*). A few words of foreign origin, running through all the languages, and chiefly relating to males, so that they are masculine by natural gender. These are mostly Arabic, Persian, or Turkish, but have been in use in the Indian languages from very early times, and have even undergone some corruptions, as will be seen in the following list:

H. लाला "master," "sir," لالا, P. लाला, लाल्हा, S. लाला, G. *id.*

H. बाबा "child," بابا, P. *id.*, S. बाबो, G. *id.*, M. बाबा.

H. दाना "sage," دانا, P. *id.*, S. दानाउ, दानाङ्, दानङ्, G. दानाव, दानो, M. दाणा.

H. दरिया "river," دريا, P. दरिआउ, S. दरियाउ, दरिआङ्, G. दरियाव, दरियो, M. दर्या.

H. उमरा "nobles" (pl., also singular), أمراء and उमराउ, P. उमराउ singular, S. उमराउ, °ङ् sing., G. उमराव, °रो sing., M. उमराव sing.

H. खुदा "God," خدا, P. *id.*, S. *id.* and खुदाउ, G. खुदा, खोदा, M. खुदा.

H. दारोगा "overseer," داروغه, P. दरोगा, S. दरोगो, G. *id.*, M. दरोगा.

The word उमरा, though really a plural, is constantly used as a singular in modern speech. It will have been noticed that

there is a tendency to add a *u* or *v* on to many of these words, and so to account, as it were, for their being masculine, by giving them the old masculine termination. G. also effects the same by boldly changing the final *â* into *o*.

(2). The termination *î* is the typical termination of the feminine in Tadbhavas and Desajas; that is to say, in nouns of the mediæval and modern kinds, in which, as we have frequently before noticed, a principle of development prevails of a character essentially different from that which distinguishes the classical Sanskrit or Prakrits. In opposition, however, to this generally feminine character of *î*, a number of nouns are found in all the languages, which, though ending in *î*, are masculine. This class seems to have given some trouble to our grammar-makers, and their difficulty has been increased by the laxity of practice in some of the languages. Especially is this the case in Hindi, where, owing to the leading authors having been men of strong poetic instinct, but of little learning, a tendency has grown up to give to each word the gender indicated by its typical termination; and words which, from their origin, ought to be masculine, are sometimes found coupled with feminine adjectives or participles. This source of error is, however, confined to words which have only grammatical gender; those which are masculine by natural gender, as describing male beings or their occupations, are exempted by their nature from the possibility of being mistaken for feminines.

Masculines in *î* may be divided into the following classes:

(*a*). Those derived from Sanskrit agents in इन्, which in that language form their nominative in ई *î*; as the modern languages ignore the grammatical fiction of a base, as distinct from the actual nominative, it is from the latter only that they take their forms. Instances of this class are the following (see also the list in § 18):

Skr. हस्ती "elephant," base हस्तिन् (*m.*), H. G. S. हाथी, P. हत्थी, M. हत्ती, B. O. हाती.

Skr. स्वामी "lord," base स्वामिन् (*m.*). In all साईं, except though in the commoner word गोस्वामी, which becomes in the modern languages गोसाईं, M. has गोसावी.

Skr. मालो "gardener," base मालिन् (*m.*). In all माली, but G. and M. माळी.

Skr. पक्षी "bird," base पक्षिन्, H. पंक्षी, M. G. P. *id.*, S. पखी, B. पाखी, and in East-B. पाही.

Skr. साक्षी "witness," base साक्षिन्, H. साखी, and so in all.

There are, moreover, in this class many words of uncertain origin, as well as others whose origin is not at all uncertain, though, owing to phonetic changes, it is not so apparent at first sight. In some of these words we may attribute the form to a feeling that long *i* as a masculine was appropriate to names of trades or professions, so that it was added to words for which there existed no prototype in Sanskrit. Such are—

H. धोबी "washerman," and so in all. B. and O. have धोबा and धोपा.

H. पटवारी "village accountant," so in all, but rare in M.

H. परोसी "neighbour," in all, but more correctly with ड.

H. मोदी "shopkeeper," in all, but S. मोदा.

H. पाही "a non-resident cultivator," so in P. B. O.

The exact form from which धोबी is derived is uncertain. It should be Skr. धाविन्, from धाव् "to wash," and the vulgar language probably used the word in this sense, though in classical Sanskrit the word seems to be used exclusively in the other sense of the root, namely, as "a runner." पाही is from पाखी, and that again from पक्षिन्, from पक्ष in the sense of a "side;" a *pâhi* cultivator being one who lives, not on the spot, but in another village, and is thus, as we should put it in colloquial English, an "outsider." पटवारी is a somewhat abnormal compound of the mediæval period; the first part पट is from पट्ट

"a letter" or "writing," and the second seems to postulate a form वारिन् "doer," perhaps from the root वृ.[1] परोसी, more accurately पडोसी, is प्रतिवासिन्. मोदी has been by some derived from the Skr. मोदक "sweetmeat;" but I believe it really comes from the Arabic مُؤنَة "provisions," "stores;" the ordinary Indian *modí* is not a sweetmeat-seller, but deals in grain, and eatables of all sorts.

In a subsequent section (§ 35) it will be shown that the majority of these words testify to the existence of a Sanskrit original in इन्, by forming their feminines in इनी, or in forms derived therefrom.

(β). Nouns derived from Sanskrit substantives in तृ, with the sense of a male agent. Here the gender is natural, not merely grammatical. Common instances are:

Skr. भ्रातृ "brother," H. भाई, so in all, but P. also भ्राउ, S. भाउ, M. भाऊ.

Skr. नप्तृ "grandson," H. नाती, so in B. and O., but M. नातू.

The number of words of this class is not large, nor do they run through all the languages; in fact, as has already been mentioned (Ch. I. § 14), the tendency of ऋ is rather towards *ú* in this class.

(γ). Words derived from Sanskrit masculines and neuters in इ, by lengthening the final vowel; as

Skr. दधि "curds" (*n.*), H. दही (*m.*), P. दहीं (*m.*), M. and G. *id.* but *n.*, S. डहीं (*f.*).

Skr. पति "lord" (*m.*), H. पती (*m.*), but oftener पत.

Skr. भगिनीपति "sister's husband" (*m.*), H. बहनोई (*m.*), P. भन्वाई, O. भिनोई.

Skr. वर्धकि "carpenter" (*m.*), H. बढई, O. B. M. *id.*, but G. S. वाढो, which is an independent formation, from the modern verb "to cut."

[1] The origin of the termination *vári* will be discussed under the Verb, to which it properly belongs.

(δ). Derivatives from Sanskrit masculines and neuters in इक, इय and ईय. Concerning the former of these, see examples in Ch. I. § 18, (β), (γ). Of the two latter examples are:

Skr. पानीयं "water" (*n.*), H. पानी (*m.*), and so in all, but generally पाणी. In G. and M. it is *n.*

Skr. प्रिय "beloved" (*m.*), H. पी (*m.*), "lover," "husband."

Skr. श्रोत्रिय "a class of Brahmans," H. सोती.[1]

Skr. क्षत्रिय "a Kshattriya," H. खत्री, छत्री, छेत्री, P. *id.*, S. खित्री, O. छेत्री.

Under this head probably comes the list of obscurely derived words in Sindhi given by Trumpp at p. 96, though, with some three or four exceptions, the origin of these words is not at present traceable.

(ε). Words derived from Sanskrit masculine and neuter nouns containing इ or ई in the penultimate syllable, but in which, the last syllable having fallen away through phonetic changes, the इ or ई has become final, the former being lengthened to ई. Thus:

Skr. घृतं "clarified butter" (*n.*), H. घी (*m.*), M. घी (*n.*) but rare, P. G. *id.* (*n.*).

Skr. जीव "life" (*m.* and *n.*), H. जी (*m.*), and so in all.

So completely, except in the case of professions and trades, has the idea of the feminine character of ई taken possession of the popular mind among the modern Aryans, that many words, which ought to be regarded as masculine, are treated as feminine, simply because they now terminate in ई. Thus in H. नवनी "butter" is found with feminine adjectives, though it is properly masculine, being derived from Skr. नवनीतं (*n.*), and the corresponding word in M., लोणी, is neuter. So, also, H.

[1] The Sotis are one of the highest clans or *gotras* among the Maithil Brahmans. The Rajas of Darbhanga belong to this *gotra*.

विक्री "sale" is treated as feminine, though derived from Skr. विक्रय (*m.*). In M. several words which are neuter, of this termination, are written with anuswâra as ईं, because the anuswâra, being derived from the final म् of Sanskrit, seems to the people to be more appropriate to that gender. Thus they write पाणीं "water," मोतीं "pearl," and others. It is by the operation of a similar tendency that we in England now treat such words as *riches, alms,* as plurals, though they are really singulars corrupted from *richesse, almesse*;[1] so also our old singular *pease,* from *pisum,* has been changed into a plural *peas,* and a singular *pea* formed from it, though the *s* has nothing to do with the plural sign, but is a genuine radical part of the word.

(3). The termination *û* ऊ is masculine, as in the cases of the other long vowels, in words derived from Skr. masculines. This rule is a good guide, in spite of a certain number of exceptions, in all terminations, namely, that the gender of the Sanskrit original is fairly kept in all modern words, and affords a clue to the many apparent irregularities; as, for instance, in the case of words like घी, पानी, etc. Inasmuch, therefore, as the termination ऊ in Sanskrit is of all three genders, we cannot say that it is either regular or irregular for a word in any of the modern languages to be masculine, feminine, or neuter. We must in each case trace the word back to its origin; and we shall, in a large majority of cases, find the modern word retaining the gender of its parent. In Gujarati no distinction is practically made between long and short *u*; and even in Marathi some confusion exists. In Marathi, however, and Sindhi, the long *û* is generally masculine; in H. and P. words of this termination are about equally divided between the two genders. No examples of the masculine nouns of this termination need be given. The rules for the formation of the stem contained in

[1] The translators of our English Bible knew better when they wrote "an alms" (Acts iii. 3), though they use "riches" as a plural, "Your riches *are* corrupted."

the preceding Chapter will serve to guide towards the Sanskrit word from which the modern word is derived, and the gender can thus be easily ascertained.

(4). The short vowels are generally elided at the end of a word in Hindi, as well as in P. and G., and to a very great extent also in common Marathi. It will therefore be more convenient to reserve the consideration of such words till we come to the section on consonantal endings. When the short vowel is not elided, it is frequently lengthened, to enable it to retain its position, and the words in which it still remains as a short vowel are all Tatsamas, like गति, विधि, ऋतु, शत्रु, the gender of which is identical with that of the Sanskrit.

It is only in Sindhi that short vowel terminations are of any account, and our discussion of them is confined to this language.

Short *u* उ is the typical ending of masculines.

Short *a* अ is the typical ending of feminines.

Short *i* इ is chiefly feminine.

Masculines in उ are derived from the Prakrit termination *o*, and represent the class I have called barytones in the last Chapter, thus corresponding to the masculine consonantal endings of other languages.

Under this head come also nouns derived from Sanskrit masculines and neuters in उ, thus—

Skr. वायु "wind" (*n.*),	S. वाउ (*m.*).
„ मधु "liquor" (*n.*),	S. मदु.[1]

There are also a few words in which the final *u* is derived from the तृ of Sanskrit, as quoted in Ch. I. § 14, पितृ = पिउ, etc.

There appear to be no instances of masculines in *a* अ, and very few in इ. Of the latter, instances are पइ, from Skr. पति "lord;" विरसपति, from Skr. वृहस्पति "the planet Jupiter;" हरि

[1] This is Trumpp's derivation (Sindhi Gr. p. 33). I am disposed to derive the word regularly from Skr. मद्, Pr. मद्दो.

"Vishnu;" and as shortenings of ई from इन्, as noted above in (2, *a*), केहरि from केशरिन् "lion;" सहाइ for सहाई, from सहाय "helper," are familiar examples.

§ 33. As in the masculine, so also in the feminine terminations, there exists a double system. The termination *â*, which is typical of the feminine in Sanskrit, is in the modern languages a resultant from *o*, and typical of the masculine; yet it is found as the termination of many fem. words, just as *î*, the modern fem. type, occurs in many masculine words.

(1). Final *â* is feminine in the seven languages in the following classes of nouns.

(*a*). In Tatsamas which are feminine in Sanskrit, such as पूजा "worship," चिंता "thought," रसना "tongue," कथा "story," and many more very common words.

(*β*). In a considerable number of modern Tadbhavas, which, though changed from the pure Sanskrit form, still retain the distinctive termination, and with it the gender: such as

Skr. क्षमा "patience" (*f.*), H. छिमा, छमा, P. S. खिमा, G. खमा, all *f.*

Skr. यात्रा "pilgrimage" (*f.*), H. जात्रा, P. जातरा, S. जाटरा, G. *id.*, also जातरा, M. जत्रा, all *f.*

Skr. क्षुधा "hunger" (*f.*), H. खुधा, P. खुद्दिआ.

Skr. आज्ञा "order" (*f.*), H. आग्या, P. आगिआ, S. आग्या, G. आग्न्या.

Skr. हत्या "murder" (*f.*), S. हचा.

(*γ*). In some words of uncertain origin, but purely local in type, as—

H. डिबिया (*f.*), "a small box," but in all the rest *m.* in *â*, with a fem. in *î*.

H. चिड़िया (*f.*), "a bird," in P. and M. without the final syllable and *f.*

H. बुढ़िया (*f.*), "an old woman."

In these three very common words the final या is probably a recent addition, and the words were originally, as they are still in the cognate languages, डिवी, चिडी, and वुढी, the *i* having been shortened, as is usual in Hindi, in consequence of the additional syllable. Or we may suppose them to come under § 9 (2), and to have been feminines of the form मचिका, where the suffix *ikâ* has been softened into *iyâ*, though it would be useless to look for a Sanskrit original for the two first words. The third may, however, well come from a Skr. form वृद्धिका.

This remark leads to a consideration of somewhat extended application. It may be asked why *â*, which is in Sanskrit a fem. ending, should in the moderns be so typically and universally a masc. ending, and similarly why *î*, which in Skr. is quite as much a masc. as a fem. ending, should have in the moderns so almost exclusively attached itself to the fem.? The answer would appear to be found in the extreme prevalence in Pr. of the practice of adding the suffix *aka* to nouns of all classes. We have to begin with the oxytone nouns in Skr., which become nouns in *o* and *á* in the moderns, and to them we must also add the Pr. formatives in *aka*=*ao*, of the type *ghoṭaka*=*ghoṛao*=*ghoṛá*; the union of these two sets of words results in a preponderance of mascs. in *á-o*. Now, as the feminine of *aka* is *ikâ*, and *ikâ* becomes *iyâ*, and more frequently still *î*, if we suppose that to every one of the words to which Pr. tacked on *aka* for the masc., it also tacked on *ikâ* for the fem., the preponderance of *î* as a fem. ending in the moderns is explained, the more so that we can add to the *î* from *ikâ* a large class in which already in Sanskrit the masc. in *-as* forms its fem. in *î*; such as सुन्दरः (*m.*), सुन्दरी (*f.*). Moreover, the typical ending of the adjectives being *â-o* for the masc., and *î* for the fem., it was natural to use an adjective ending in *î*, with a substantive of a similar termination; and so it comes to pass that all grammar-writers treat masculines in *î* and feminines in *â* as exceptions, though few of them attempt to account for their existence.

(2). Final *i* is feminine then in all cases except those noted in the last section, and this holds good for all the seven languages. Final *û* is feminine in words derived from Sanskrit feminines, as भू "earth," वधू "daughter-in-law," H. बहू, P. बोह, S. वहू, etc.

In Sindhi, as noted above, the feminine terminations are *a* and *i*, and the majority of these words are identical with the feminines in mute *a* of the other languages, which have been shortened from Skr. feminines in *â*.

(3). In some classes of adjectives, mostly very common and vulgar, a feminine in *o* is found. This is very common in Panjabi, and frequently with the suffixes ऊ, एल, or एलु, where the *o* may be regarded as a lengthening of the *u* of the masculine. Such are—

धकेलो "(a cow) that thrusts or butts," masc. धकेलू.

चुड्डो "whore," from चुड्ड "cunnus," also written झुड्डो, झुट्ठो, and चुत्तो.

जद्दो "adulteress," from जद्दणा "to copulate," masc. झद्दू.

दांदो "a woman with projecting teeth," from दंद "tooth," masc. दांदू.

नखरेलो "a coquette," origin uncertain.

नाजो "an immodest woman" (probably from नाज, for लाज = लज्जा).

Most of the words of this form are words of abuse used by women to one another, the fair sex in India being possessed of a remarkably fertile invention in the matter of vituperation. In Marathi also ओ is often a feminine ending, as in बायको "woman," where the *o* is probably a lengthening of the masculine आ. In Oriya, when addressing women, they always use लो.

§ 34. The neuter has less variety of termination than the other genders, and exists only in Marathi and Gujarati. The type of the neuter is M. एं, G. उं, but M. also has a neuter in ऊं,

which, however, is not frequent, and occurs principally in words denoting the young of animals, which have also masc. and fem. forms for the two sexes of the animal; as बकरा (*m.*) "he-goat," बकरी (*f.*) "she-goat," बकरूं (*n.*) "a kid of both sexes."

Both the typical terminations point back to the अं of the Skr. neuter, that of G. in उं, by virtue of the process so often observable in the case of final म्, by which that letter resolves itself into its two elements, the labial and nasal, the former of which passes through व into उ, and the latter into anuswâra, and then into anunâsika or a simple nasal breathing. The एं of Marathi would seem to be derived from a weakening of the अ of अं into ए.

Though the other languages have no neuter for the noun, yet the infinitive, which is a verbal noun, is derived from a Skr. neuter, and in most of the languages retains a neuter form. Hoernle (Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xlii. p. 66) combats the theory that the neuter form observable in Old-Hindi, and in several dialects of Modern-Hindi, as well as in G. and M., and he might have added in Sindhi also, is derived from the Skr. neuter in अं. Thus he will not take Old-H. करनौं, dialectic करनों, करनां, करनुं, from Skr. करणं, as he says the process is opposed to certain glottic laws which he appears to have formulated for himself. He would apparently derive the Marathi infinitive करणें from a Prakrit form करणिअं; and the other infinitives with a labial type, as करनौं, from a further Prakrit form करणअं. The phonetic changes thus indicated are indeed possible, and quite regular; if we once concede Prakrit forms करणिअं and करणअं, there is no difficulty in deducing from them modern forms करणें and करनौं respectively; but we want more evidence as to the said Prakrit forms, and their meaning hardly corresponds with sufficient accuracy. But leaving this question of the infinitive for its proper place, we may follow Hoernle in his process of applying the principle

to nouns in general. No such general ending in इअं or ञअं is of course to be found in Prakrit for neuter nouns of all kinds; but the author would have us believe that such an ending did exist in a great many cases, and that its origin is to be found in the favourite suffix क, so that we are to postulate in the case of every Marathi neuter in एं a Prakrit form in इअं, derived from इकं, and in the case of every neuter in उं or ऊं, a similar उअं from उकं: why Marathi should always select इकं, and Gujarati उकं, is not explained, and seems in fact unexplainable. It is, however, highly probable that we have in this theory an indication of the direction in which we should search for the explanation of such forms if dissatisfied with their derivation from the simple Sanskrit neuter; and it must be admitted, that the author's illustrations from the forms of the oblique cases of stems in ऊं in Marathi are strongly confirmatory of his theory.

§ 35. A large majority of feminines in all the seven languages are formed from the corresponding masculine nouns, though there are of course many which have an independent origin; as, for instance, words which possess natural gender, in which the female animal has a distinct name from the male one. But in names of trades, castes, and the like, the female is generally derived from the male.

Masculines in *ó* G. S., or *á* H. and the rest, form their feminines in *í*; as

H. छोकडा	"boy,"	छोकडी "girl."
P. छोहरा	,,	छोहरी ,,
S. छोकरो	,,	छोकरी ,,
S. also shortens final *i*, as		छोकरि ,,

This is an extremely common process, based on the typical endings of the two genders, and need not be further illustrated. It is extended also to the case of masculines ending in short *u*

in S., and with mute *a*, or in other words, with a consonantal ending, in the other languages. Instances are:

S. धर्टु "washerman,"	धर्टि "washerwoman."
S. गड्डुइ "he-ass,"	गड्डहि "she-ass."
S. धीरु "firmus,"	धीरि "firma."
P. कुमाद् "sugar-cane,"	कुमादी *id.*
P. कुलथ "vetch,"	कुलथी *id.*
P. कौड "a cowry,"	कौडी "a small cowry."
H. बन्दर "monkey,"	बन्दरी "she-monkey."
H. बन "forest,"	बनी "copse."
H. बांस "bamboo,"	बांसी "flute," "reed."

Although, however, instances are to be found, such as those given above, of a feminine in ई being derived from consonantally ending masculines, yet the practice is not very common, the feminines in *i* being more generally derived from masculines in *ô* and *â*; especially is this the case in masculines derived from Skr. by means of the common suffix अक, which, as has been shown, produces अओ, and then ओ and आ, while its feminine is regularly इका, yielding इया, and then ई, as in घोटक, घोडओ, घोडा (*m.*) "horse," घोटिका, घोडिआ, घोडी (*f.*) "mare."

Extremely common, and spread throughout the seven languages, is the feminine ending whose varied forms are given below, and which is confined to the expression of nationality, caste, occupation, bodily and mental qualities, and other attributes of living, and chiefly human, beings.

H. has, in the first place, feminines in इन, इनी or नी, derived from Sanskrit इनी, the feminine of masculines in ई (इन); thus

Skr. हस्ती "elephant," H. हाथी, Skr fem. हस्तिनी, H. हाथिन, हाथिनी, or हथनी.

This form it also uses in feminines derived from a masculine in ई, which ई is thereby shown to represent the Skr. °इन्; as

धोबी "washerman," धोबिन "washerwoman;"

माली "gardener," मालिन and मालिनी "gardener's wife;"

but the termination is by no means confined to those words which have in Skr. the form इन् (*m.*), इनी (*f.*), but, like all terminations which have once become typical, is added to words derived from all sorts of formations; thus

सोनार "goldsmith" (Skr. सुवर्णकार), सुनारिन "goldsmith's wife."

चमार "leather worker" (Skr. चर्मकार), चमारिन his wife.

कुम्हार "potter" (Skr. कुम्भकार), कुम्हारिन his wife.

बाघ "tiger" (Skr. व्याघ्र), बाघिन, बाघनी "tigress."

कुंबी "a caste of cultivators," कुंबिन the female of that caste.

Through the habitual carelessness of this language in respect of unaccented short vowels, this termination is often sounded merely as अन.

कुंजडा "a seller of vegetables," कुंजडन and कुंजडिन "a female seller."

ग्वाला "cowherd" (Skr. गोपालक), ग्वालन and ग्वालिन "cowherd's wife."

ठग "cheat" (Skr. स्थग), ठगन and ठगिन "female cheat," or "a thag's wife."

पापी "sinner," पापन, पापिन, पापिनी "peccatrix."

बरेठा "washerman," बरेठन his wife.

बढई "carpenter," बढन his wife.

In this latter word there has been contraction from बढइन.

Regular derivatives from the Sanskrit are the words indicative of conditions peculiar to females:

Skr. गर्भिणी "pregnant," H. गाभिन and गाभन.

So also a feminine in इन्, अन्, or नी, may be made out of all sorts of masculines, to indicate the wife of a man of any class or

trade, rather than a woman who practises the trade herself. Thus one often hears familiarly चोरनी "a thief's wife," from चोर "a thief." This does not necessarily imply that the woman is herself a thief, but that her husband is. The same remark applies to the following:

पंडित "a Pandit,"	पंडिताणी his wife.
गुरू "a teacher,"	गरूवाइन his wife.
ठाकुर "a chief,"	ठाकुरानि and ठाकुराइन "a chief's wife."
चौधरी "a headman,"	चौधरानि and चौधराइन "a headman's wife."

These forms आनि and आइन are from Skr. आनी, the latter by a common inversion. They are even added to words of Persian origin; as

مہتر "a sweeper,"	मेहतरानि "a female sweeper."
مُغل "a Mughal,"	मुगलानि "a she-Mughal."
چاکر "a servant,"	चाकरानि "a female servant."

Even in words ending in आं we have the feminine ending आइन; as

वनियां "trader,"	वनियाइन "a trader's wife."

The Muhammadan government conferred the title of Khân خان on Hindus in some parts of Bengal, and from this the common people have formed a scarcely pronounceable feminine. *Khân* throughout India is pronounced with the final *n* nasalized, as though written खां, and the feminine is therefore खांयाइन, vulgo खांयाइं or खांआइं, which the reader may pronounce at his leisure.

Panjabi has also this method of forming the feminine, and chiefly neglects the इ and uses the termination अन् or अण्, the former used after a cerebral, the latter after other letters, a practice in which Panjabi reverses the Skr. usage. The application of this feminine ending has grown to be irrespective

of the termination of the masculine, as in H. This will be seen from the following group of examples:—

धोवी or धोवा "washerman,"	धोवण his wife.
धोही or धोहा "a cheat,"	धोहण *id.* (*f.*)
कुऊडी "leprous man" (Skr. कुष्ठी),	कुऊरन "leprous woman."
कुसाथी "bad companion" (*m.*),	कुसाथण *id.* (*f.*)
करोधी "angry" (Skr. क्रोधी),	करोधण *id.* (*f.*)
धांदळ्या "trickster,"	धांदळ्न "trickstress."

The intelligent and progressive caste of Kayasths, which is so leading a class in Bengal, is very scantily represented in the Panjab, and the name is somewhat corrupted.

काइथ or कांइथ (*m.*), काइथणी, काइथ्याणी, काइथिआणी, and कां° (*f.*).

णी is used also alternatively with आइण, as

चौधरी "headman,"	चौधरणी, चौधराइण his wife.
करसान "peasant,"	करसानणी *id.* (*f.*)
गुआर "villager" (Skr. ग्रामवारी, H. गांवार),	गुआरनी "village woman."
कमीन "menial,"	कमीनणी *id.* (*f.*)
ठग "cheat,"	ठगणी his wife.

From the feminine again, by some forgetfulness of its origin, has been formed a masculine ठगण; so deeply seated is the feeling that a feminine in ई corresponds to and postulates a masculine in *â*. Precisely in the same way in Latin the feminine *marita*, literally "manned," from *mas, maris*, has given rise to a masculine *maritus*.

Persian and Arabic words also undergo the prevailing Indian conversion into feminines. Hence spring the common but curious hybrids—

गुसैल "angry," *i.e.*	Arabic غُصّہ with Aryan ऐल, fem. गुसैलण.
जलाद् "executioner,"	Arabic جَلّاد fem. जलादणी his wife.
कारीगर "artificer,"	Persian کاریگر fem. कारीगरनी his wife.

करजदाइ "debtor," Ar. and P. قرض دار fem. करजदाइण.

करजाई *id.*, corrupt Arabic قرضای fem. करजाइण.

Masculines in आई shorten the ई and add ण for the fem., as

धडवाई "weighman," धडवाइण his wife.

When a word of this form ends in anunâsika, that is rejected, as

गुसाईं "devotee," गुसाइण his wife.

So also with words ending in आं, as वणियां "merchant," fem. वणियाइण, वणिआणी "a merchant's wife." In P. as well as in H. this feminine termination implies rather the wife of a man who is described by the masc. word, and not a woman who herself does the thing implied, as in the H. instance of चोरनी, which does not contain any imputation on the honesty of the lady so styled, but on that of her husband.

Sindhi affixes this group of terminations to masculines of all sorts; thus it is added in the forms णि and णी to masculines in short *u*; as

जटु "a Jat," जटिणि and जटिणी, also जट्याणी, "a Jat's wife."

बरोचु "a Beluch," बरोचाणि his wife.

सींङ "lion," सींहणि "lioness."

To masculines in *o*, but less frequently than the fem. in इ: as लंघो "a drummer," लंघिणि, लंघिणी, लंघ्याणी, and लंघ्याइणी, his wife.

Trumpp teaches that in the case of masculines in short *u*, as जटु, the final *u* is changed to *i*, before adding the fem. termination; but if this were the case, we should have a double feminine. In the cognate languages, where the masculine ends in a consonant, we have feminines in इन, and this leads to the conclusion that the इ is part of the termination, and जटिणि should be divided thus: जट + इणि, not जटि + णि. In the original Skr. of this form we have the masc. base स्वामिन्, and though the final न has been dropped in the nom., yet all the other cases retain it, and it must therefore be regarded as the

true ancient form, and the feminine sign would be only ई; but the modern languages having got hold of इनी, and regarded the whole of it as the feminine termination, have tacked it on to all sorts of masculines. The only real instance of a double feminine is in such words as जट्याणी, which is doubtless जटि + आणी. A similar confusion of forms gives लंघ्याइणि, where there is लंघी, the original or regular fem. of लंघो, with the ई changed to a semivowel before the fem. ending आणी, which again has been regarded as in some way connected with इनी, and has thus come to be pronounced as आइणि, or perhaps आणी having become by inversion आइण, as in the other languages, Sindhi has clapped on final ई from a feeling that the word is feminine.

In the case of masculines ending in *û*, this vowel is shortened to *u* or elided altogether, and the phrase, "a Hindu female," may thus be expressed in six different ways; thus

हिन्दिणी, हिन्दिणि; हिन्दुणी, हिन्दुणि; हिन्दुआणी, हिन्दुआइणि.

Gujarati has the terminations in considerable variety, as अण, एण, आणी, णी and नी, of which एण is peculiar to this language. Examples are:

गोलो "servant,"	गोलण, गोलेण "female servant."
धोवी "washerman,"	धोवण, धोवेण "washerwoman."
कोळी "a certain caste,"	कोळण a woman of that caste.

Taylor (p. 28) gives also feminine forms धोवण, कोळण; but these are not noticed by Narmadâ Shankar. They might arise from the final ई of इनी being shortened to the semivowel; and the form एण is from आनी, Pr. आणी, through the H. inversion आइन. Gujarati retains the Prakrit form of the nasal ण.

वाणियो "trader,"	वाणिअण, वाणिआण, वाणिआणि.
मरेठो "a Maratha,"	मरेठेण.
वाघ "tiger,"	वाघण, वाघेण.
धणी "master,"	धणीआणी.

It appears that in cases where there are two forms of the feminine for the same word, one form is in use in one part of the country, and the other in a different part; but it is not stated which form is used in any specified part.

Marathi in particular affects a long vowel in the final syllable of words ending with a consonant; and in the class of words now under consideration it accordingly takes regularly ईण in the feminine nominative, but shortens this ई to इ or अ in the oblique cases, because this syllable is no longer final in those cases. Thus we have—

सुगर "skilful man,"	सुगरीण "skilful woman," "a good housewife."
भावी "devotee,"	भावीण "female devotee."
वाघ "tiger,"	वाघीण "tigress."
कुणबी "peasant,"	कुणबीण his wife.

Sanskrit feminines in इनी, whether they have any corresponding masculine in Marathi or not, are treated by it in the same manner as the above:

कुटीण "procuress,"	Skr. कुट्टिनी.
वहीण "sister,"	,, भगिनी.

With regard to O. and B., as they have no means of indicating gender, so also they do not possess any regular method of forming feminines. In modern times a large number of Sanskrit feminine words have been dug up out of dictionaries, and are now used in their Tatsama form; and there are old Tadbhavas, like the word for "sister," which have not been formed from masculines in any modern language, but have come down ready made from ancient times. Of these it is unnecessary to say anything.

Nor need we here introduce those words which are names of female animals, the male of which has a different name; like H. बैल "ox," सांड "bull," गै "cow." Each of these words stands on its own basis, and descends from some Skr. word which has no connexion with the masculine.

§ 36. With regard to the gender of that large class of words which, in all but Sindhi, end in mute *a*, or in other words in a consonant, I am convinced that it is quite impossible to lay down any law. Each word must be traced back to its Sanskrit or other origin, and the reason for the gender will then be apparent. A large number of these words have come to their present shape from rejecting a final *á* or other feminine ending in Skr. (see the remarks in § 11), and it is therefore mere waste of time to attempt to find out any rules founded on the consonant which has thus accidentally become final. Stevenson, in his Marathi Grammar, occupies several pages with lists of feminines ending in a consonant, which it would be impossible for the student really to carry in his memory; practice alone in speaking the language can teach him the gender of these words. It is of little consequence to know the gender in H. or P. In the forms of Hindustani spoken all over India, gender is habitually neglected by all classes, and it is only in the area in which Hindi is the mother-speech that much attention is paid to it, and even there only by purists or accurate speakers. In a great portion of Bihar one hears such phrases as तुम्हा मा आता है "your mother is coming;" and in the Parbatia or Nepali dialect, gender is not preserved at all. It exists, however, in literature, and its existence cannot therefore be ignored in Hindi even; and correspondents in the Marathi country and Gujarat inform me that the threefold gender of those languages is always correctly used, even by the lowest and most ignorant peasantry—an assertion which I should hesitate to receive in its entirety until confirmed by actual observation.

In Marathi gender is distinguished by native grammarians in three ways, and the rules which they lay down are useful as far as they go, though necessarily incomplete, and leaving much that is unclassified. They distinguish gender—(1) by signification, (2) by form, (3) by both combined. Of these three, the second, or that by form, applies only to the termination, and

breaks down as soon as it gets from words ending in a vowel to those ending in consonants. It is a good guide for vowel-endings, and consequently embraces the whole of Sindhi. In Marathi it helps us to some few rules for consonantal endings. Thus nouns in ईण are of course feminine, as shown in the last section; so also are those in णूक and ईंव. It is also asserted that nouns in *nt*, that is त preceded by anunàsika, are masculine; but there are so many exceptions to this rule as to destroy its value for practical purposes. Similarly untrustworthy is the rule that nouns in र, व, and य, when forming the last member of a nexus, are neuter; for thereupon follows a long string of such words all masculine.

In all the languages the large class of stems in क्, mentioned in § 9 (*β*), is chiefly feminine, but contains enough masculines to render it unsafe for a foreigner to treat all such words as feminines in speaking the language.

Reduplicated nouns are nearly everywhere feminine; but as many of these have vowel-endings, they come under head (3), which is a very perplexing method indeed, and leads to more confusion than either of the others. The only really trustworthy rule under this head is that which prescribes the gender of abstract nouns; those in पन or पण being neuter in those languages which have the neuter gender, and masculine in those which have it not. पणा is masculine in all, and ता feminine, as in Sanskrit.

Under head (1) we are led into a maze of conflicting considerations. Leaving out, as sufficiently accounting for themselves, words which have natural gender, the artificial gender reminds us of the incoherent old "Propria quæ maribus" of our school-days. Winds, mountains, rivers, periods of time, and the like, appear to range themselves under various genders with a most inextricable caprice, and the usual tagrag of exceptions hangs on to the skirts of their army like a mob of unruly camp followers. No one perhaps really believes that the speakers

who unconsciously developed their respective languages ever stopped to think what the gender of a word was, or intentionally made it masculine because it was a mountain, or feminine because it was a tree or a river. The utmost we can admit is that instinctively large coarse strong things were treated as masculine, and their opposites as feminine, while things really or constructively inert were usually spoken of as neuter.

It will perhaps be safer to conclude that all words whose gender cannot be ascertained from their present form must be traced back to the older form, where they will generally be found to be in possession of a termination which at once explains the reason of their modern gender.

Even this rule, however, is not free from exceptions, for there are not wanting words which, though clearly derived from Skr., have changed their gender in the course of ages. Especially is this the case with words denoting the body and its parts, where a sense of tenderness or familiarity seems to have operated to cause them to become feminine, that gender being used to denote small delicate objects. From the same sentiment the Romans turned the names for parts of the body into diminutives, as *auricula*, *ocellus*, and the like. Instances are—

Skr. देह "body" (*m.*), H. देह (*f.*), P. and G. also देह (*f.*), but in M. it is *masc.*, and S. देहि (*f.*), where the fem. इ has been added.

Skr. शपथ "oath" (*m.*), H. सौंह (*f.*), so also is the late Tadbhava सपथ; M. शपथ is *m.* and *f.* when meaning "an ordeal," but *m.* when meaning "a curse."

Skr. अक्षि "eye" (*n.*), H. आंख (*f.*), P. अक्ख (*f.*), G. आंख (*f.*), S. अखि (*f.*), where the retention of the final इ has probably led to the word being considered as fem. Chand uses अंषि (= अंखि).

Skr. आमय "sickness" (*m.*), H. आंव (*m.*) "mucous excrement," M. *id.* (*f.*), and S. आँउ (*f.*).

Skr. बाहु "arm" (*m.*), H. बांह (*f.*), P. *id.* (*f.*), S. बांह (*f.*). In G. it is *f.*, but takes a fem. ending बांही; so also in M. बाही (*f.*).

Skr. वस्तु "thing" (*n.*), H. वस्त (*f.*), P. वसत (*f.*), S. वथु (*f.*), G. वस्त (*f.*), M. वस्तु (*f.* and *n.*), वस्तू (*f.*).

Skr. विष "poison" (*n.*), H. बिस, बिख (*m.*), S. विखु, विङ्ग (*f.*).

Skr. अंत्र "entrails" (mostly in pl. अंत्राणि (*n.*), H. अंतर, आंत (*f.*), also with fem. ending अंतरी and अंतडी. S. आंडो (*m.*), M. आंत (*n.*), G. अंतरूं (*n.*).

Skr. धातु "root," "metal," "element" (*m.* and *n.*), H. धात (*f.*) "semen virile," S. धातु (*f.*), P. धात, धांत (*f.*), G. धात, धातु (*f.*), M. *id.* (*f.* and *m.*).

The following are from Sindhi;[1] they are all feminine, though the Sanskrit original, and in some cases the derivatives from it in the cognate languages, which I have added to Trumpp's list, are either masc. or neuter:

S. अंसु "offspring," Skr. अंश, H. अंस (*m.*), and so in all.

S. विंदु "semen," Skr. विंदु (*m.*), H. विंद, बूंद (*f.*), विंदी (*f.*) "drop;" in which sense S. has also विंड़ी (*f.*), M. विंदी (*f.*), G. विंदु (*n.*), probably because उं in G. is the regular neuter ending, and the *u* of this word has been confounded with it.

Trumpp here inserts S. पूनउ (*f.*) and पूनइ, which he would derive from Skr. पर्वन् (*m.*), but this is apparently an error; the word should be derived from Skr. पूर्णमा or पूर्णिमा "the day of the full moon," which is feminine in Skr., and carries that gender into S. Stack writes it पूनंउ, and gives the forms पूरण-मासी, पूरिणमासी, etc., which exist in all the other languages.

S. तंदु "thread," "wire," Skr. तंतु (*m.*), H. तांत (*m.* and *f.*, but I think more usually *f.*). G. M. *id.* (*f.*), P. तांत (*f.*), तंद (*f.*), and तंदी (*f.*) "catgut." In all it has frequently the sense of the string of a musical instrument, as a lute, etc.

S. थ्रु "woman's milk" (*f.*), from Skr. स्तन (*m.*) "breast." S. has

[1] Trumpp, Sindhi Gram. p. 89 et seqq. Only such words have been taken from the list as show a change of gender from Sanskrit to Sindhi.

also थण (*m.*) in this sense, and H. थान, थन (*m.*). In Modern-H. the form थन is usual, but Chand has—

इक्क थान पय पान ॥

"From the same breast drank milk," *literally* (there was) a drinking of milk.—i. 170, 7.

S. ज़रु "sealing-wax," Skr. जतु "lac" (*m.*).

S. डुढु "ringworm," Skr. दद्रु (*m.*), H. दाद् (*m.*), G. दादर (*m.*), M. दाद (*f.*), दादड (*n.*). The fem. gender of दाद् in M. is probably due to the existence of the Persian داد "justice," which, like all Persian words in द्, in M. is treated as a feminine. P. दद् is however *f.* also.

S. खारु "potash," Skr. क्षार (*m.*), H. खार (*m.*), M. *id.*; in some senses it is *m.*, in others *f.* P. खार (*f.*), G. खार (*m.*).

S. मरु and मेलु "dirt," Skr. मलं (*n.*), H. मैल (*m.* and *f.*), M. मैल (*m.* and *f.*), G. मळ and मेल (*m.*), P. मळ and मल (*m.* and *f.*), मैळ however is always *f.*

S. हिङु "assafœtida," Skr. हिङ्गु (*m.*), H. हींग (*m.*), P. हिंग (*f.*), M. हिंग (*m.*), G. हिंग (*f.*).

Sindhi does not always stand alone in its change of gender, and it will have been noticed that the various languages are capricious in their use of gender as regards these words. Most of the instances given are monosyllables, and there is a tendency in all the languages to regard monosyllables, or nouns whose final *a* has become mute, as feminines. It would seem also that there is a faint and not easily definable tendency to attribute a feminine gender to certain consonants, as ह and त. This may have arisen from the fact that a majority of words ending in those letters are really by origin feminine. Although the stuff and backbone of these seven languages is pure Indo-Germanic, yet we must not ignore or underrate the influence which Arabic vocables have exercised. This influence began in Sindh so early as Muhammad Kasim's conquest of that

country in the early part of the eighth century. Mahmud of Ghaznin's numerous expeditions extended the knowledge of the sacred language of the Musulmans to all Western India in the eleventh century; and by the middle of the thirteenth, Arabic words were heard in almost every city and town. Our seven languages were then only just growing into their present shape, and Arabic words were thus woven in with their structure as it grew. The idea of Hindi or Marathi ever having been without these words, is a mere dream of Sanskritizing purists. In the most obscure corners of rural India these words are heard, and it not unfrequently happens that the old Arabic term is more familiar to the masses than the grand new-fangled Sanskrit word invented by the Pandits. Thus the somewhat hybrid word, جُرمَانہ *jurimâna*, is used in the sense of "a fine," and is understood everywhere, while the newly-coined अर्थदण्ड is not. Now in Arabic the termination تَ is distinctly feminine; in fact, it is the regular method of making feminines from masculines: thus, دَولَت, بَرَکَت, فُرصَت, نَوبَت, عَدالَت, and many others of the same kind being feminine, there would doubtless grow up an impression that whenever a word ended in *t* it was feminine; and as the masses know nothing and care nothing about derivation, the use of that gender would extend to all words in *t*, no matter whether of Aryan or Semitic orgin. This final ت is in Arabic often written as *h*, though still pronounced *t*: thus we may write دَولَت or دَولَة, both pronounced by Arabs *daulat*. In borrowing these words, the Persians frequently pronounced the final as *h*: thus we get دَرجہ *darjah*, مَرتبہ *martabah*, and the like. From the frequency of these words an impression would, as in the case of *t*, arise that there was something inherently feminine in final *h*, and we thus account for such words as देह, सोंह, being feminine. In some of the languages these words having become, by usage, thoroughly feminine, have had one or other of the vowel-endings peculiar to that gender added to them, as in S. देहि and others.

With regard to the other changes, which are less easily explainable, we must, I think, have recourse to the argument that the mediæval Aryans, before entirely doing away with any peculiarity in the structure of the ancient language, began to be careless about its use, just as in the Merovingian period in France, the Latin case-endings were used carelessly one for the other, till confusion resulted in their eventual abolition. So in the decay of gender, which has evidently taken place in the Indian group; the first step was a careless and irregular use of the genders of individual words, by which, if any one word of very common usage were feminine, a whole group of other words of similar sound would be made feminine too, and the same with any familiar masculine word.

§ 37. That the use of gender has shown signs of becoming less habitual, and gradually dying out, is undeniable. While it has died out entirely from B. and O., it is not much regarded in H. and P., and only two genders remain in S. The full range of three genders remains only in M. and G. When we cross the frontier into the territory of the Iranian languages, we find no gender at all. To ask why this is so, would be to ask a question which is virtually unanswerable. The neuter is certainly a very useless abstraction, and it is not surprising to find it the first to be thrown aside. In the modern Romance languages this has happened as much as in all the modern Aryan languages except G. and M., which have no parallel except in Modern High German. In the Indian group, the Prakrits retain all three genders; but the earliest mediæval Hindi has only two, the masculine and feminine, and even these two are much confused. It can hardly be said that Chand deliberately means to use a neuter, when he claps on an anuswâra to a formless nominal stem to eke out his metre, or uses a word in its original Sanskrit form, as in the lines—

प्रथंमं भुजंगी सुधारी ग्रहंनं ॥
जिनै नाम एकं ग्रनेकं कहंनं ॥

"First (there is) a taking of the well-adorned Bhujangi,
Whose name (though) one is taken in many ways."—i. 5.

Here the numerous anuswâras are introduced merely to make the line scan, tho metre being ∪ – – | ∪ – – | ∪ – – | ∪ – – ॥ and a nasal is commonly doubled by prefixing anuswâra: thus ग्रहंनं is to be read as though it were written ग्रहन्नम्, and प्रथंमं as प्रथम्मम्. Frequently, too, we find a masculine participle or adjective with a feminine noun. Thus, while in one line we have पुत्र होत भई मृत्य ॥—where भई "she became" agrees with रागिनि "queen" in a previous line—there occurs, a few lines below, कन्या कियौ ग्रन्दोह "the bride made lamentation," where the verb is masculine, and in the next line धर्यौ "took," which is also masculine, refers to the same noun कन्या.[1] The same indifference to gender, even with living beings, exists occasionally throughout the poem, and it may therefore be concluded that at that age, or before it, the strict observance of the three genders of Skr. had ceased to be usual. The masculine being the most common of the two genders that remained after the disuse of the neuter, gradually absorbed the feminine in ordinary writing, unless there was any special necessity for the employment of the latter, as, for instance, in the case of living beings. While, however, the poets retain tolerably accurately the two principal genders, the people must have grown careless about them at a comparatively early date; for Nepali, whose origin as an independent language dates from A.D. 1322, has little or no cognizance of them; and the earliest Bengali and Oriya poets, who wrote in the first part of the fifteenth century, show no traces

[1] Though we may here argue that we have an instance of the objective construction, though the subject is not, as it should be with that construction, in the instrumental. It will, however, be seen from Chapter III. § 57, that the early and mediæval poets regularly omit the instrumental in the objective construction.

of the feminine as attached to anything but living beings. Grammatical gender had perished in the eastern area of the seven languages, then, by the fourteenth century, leaving only natural gender, and even that but indifferently attended to.

It is not surprising that Bengali and Oriya should have lost the distinction of gender earlier than the other languages, seeing that they had so little occasion to use it. In these two languages the participial forms of the verb, which have in the other languages usurped the place of nearly all the old synthetical tenses, do not exist; and by their absence a great and constantly occurring necessity for the use of gender was taken away. Thus in Hindi the verb has only one synthetic or Prakritic tense remaining, namely, the indefinite present, the third person singular of which ends in ए (= अइ), as in करे "he does," and the third plural in एं, as in करें "they do." All the other tenses are formed by participles: as

Present	करता "does,"	देखता "sees."
Past	किया "did,"	देखा "saw."
Future	करेगा "will do,"	देखेगा "will see."

Although the future is not a participle, but formed by adding गा to the indefinite present, yet this गा, like the terminations of the present and future, changes its vowel for gender and number, and makes a feminine गी, pl. *m.* गे, *f.* गों. So that in all three tenses there exists a necessity for remembering the gender, so as to make the verb agree with its subject or object, according to the nature of the construction.

But in Bengali there is no such custom, thus:

B. Aorist	करे,	O. करइ.
„ Present	करितेछि,	„ करुअछि.
„ Past	करिल,	„ करिल.
„ Future	करिबे or °बेक,	„ करिब.

None of these tenses change their form in any way for gender,

and there is therefore no need to remember the gender of the subject; the objective construction also is fortunately unknown in those two languages.

If to this potent reason for disuse of gender we add the universal shortening of final long syllables, which led ultimately to their suppression, it will be readily understood that languages, which had no means left of marking gender, should soon cease to be aware of its existence at all, and in this respect should go even further than English. While our language retains distinct words for natural gender in the pronoun of the third person, these two do not; সে means "he," or "she," or "it," and all the cases of this pronoun are the same throughout, as will be seen more in detail in the Chapter on the Pronouns.

Seeing how much the existence of distinctions of gender tends to make a language difficult to foreigners, it is not perhaps a mistake to regret that all the seven languages have not followed the example of these two, and got rid of gender before literature stepped in to arrest their development, and stereotype the forms they at present possess; and we may certainly set our faces against the obnoxious pedantry of some modern Bengali writers, who, in resuscitating a Sanskrit adjective, bring back with it the gender which the spoken language has long ago got rid of.

CHAPTER III.

DECLENSION.

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§ 38. The modern noun in all the seven languages has the same number of cases as in Sanskrit, nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, and vocative. In Sanskrit these cases are distinguished by changes in termination, as *naras, naram, nareṇa, narâya, narât, narasya, nare, nara.* This is the fashion with the old inflectional languages—a cumbrous and somewhat clumsy system, which the human race, in its onward march, has now in many instances discarded for the simpler and more spiritual method of detached particles. In the Indian group, Hindi stands, as usual, prominently forward in this respect; while the opposite pole is represented by Sindhi, the rude and complicated speech of backward and un-

civilized desert-tribes. It is false philology to say that to Sindhi must be assigned the first place among its sister-tongues, because it "has preserved an exuberance of grammatical forms, for which its sisters may well envy it." As well might the active rifleman of to-day, in his tight-fitting easy dress, and with his handy but deadly weapon, envy the warrior of old, staggering along under half a ton of steel armour, and with no better tools than sword and spear! As well might the modern traveller, carried at the rate of thirty miles an hour in a comfortable railway carriage, envy the ancient German plunging through the muddy forest-roads in his vast and unwieldy bullock-waggon! Nature never works backwards, but ever onwards. The granite peaks of the Himalaya are worn by rain into a thousand wrinkles, and their substance is carried by countless rivers down to the plains of India; should we call the fertile soil of the Gangetic delta the "degenerate descendant" of those ice-bound peaks? Had the languages of India, and its soil, remained to the present day frozen hard in the bonds of a rigid synthetical system, or imbedded in the granite of its hills, they would not now suffice for the daily needs of its active and versatile millions. There is no language on earth so widely spoken as English, nor is there any tongue that has so freely and fully shaken off all inflections, genders, cases, tenses, and the rest: yet who shall dare to say that the language of Shakespeare and Milton is wanting in poetry; that of Bacon, Locke, and Hamilton in precision and clearness; that of Burke and Macaulay in power or eloquence? If the words of Sanskrit have in the present day lost many of their consonants and vowels, it is because they had too many to start with; *áṭh* is a handier word than *ashṭau*, and no one would care to waste his time in saying *abhyantare* who could express his meaning just as well by *bhitar*. Let us not be misled by unphilosophical talk. The modern languages are not corruptions of the Sanskrit; they are improvements on it: and those that retain the

greatest amount of its antique and elaborate forms are the least advanced of the group.

In none of the seven languages are the case-endings of Sanskrit preserved. The only trace of an inflectional or synthetical system is to be found in certain changes effected in the last syllable of some nouns, to prepare them for taking the detached particles which express the relations of case. Strictly speaking, a noun has in none of the seven languages more than four forms: the nominatives singular and plural, and the modified stem or oblique, or crude, or formative, for both numbers. Of the various names suggested for this latter case, I shall use the commonest, or oblique. The crude form of the noun is a term which I shall use when speaking of the oblique employed without particles, to signify vaguely all cases except the nominative. Of course the languages differ very much in this respect, as in all others. Oṛiya and Bengali have only one form for both nominative and oblique in both numbers. Hindi has an oblique form only in one class of nouns, while the rest indulge in a great many variations, whereby they gain nothing in clearness, while they lose much in simplicity and practical usefulness.

§ 39. To begin with the simplest of the group, Oṛiya and Bengali. Oṛiya has one form for all possible conditions of its noun. The case-particles, though not detached, do not affect the form of the stem. Thus, in a noun ending in mute short *a*, which is as much as to say, ending in a consonant, we have the declension—

Sing. N. ghar, "house,"	Pl. ghar-*mân*, "houses."
Ac. ghar-*ku*,	ghar-*mânanku*.
G. ghar-*ar*,	ghar-*mânankar*.
L. ghar-*e*, for ghar-*re*.	ghar-*manankare*, for *kar-re*.

In nouns ending with a vowel the result is the same. Thus,

râjâ, "king," gen. râjâ-r, "of a king," where the initial vowel of the particle has been sacrificed, but the stem remains untouched. So in the loc. râjâ-*re*. The genitive, however, is the only case whose particle begins with a vowel, and consequently the only case in which any hitch can arise. Further instances are—

pati, "lord,"	gen. pati-*r*.
bahu, "wife,"	,, bahu-*r*.
swâmî, "master,"	,, swâmî-*r*.
naṭî, "actress,"	,, naṭî-*r*.
bhû, "earth,"	,, bhû-*r*.

Some pedants profess to teach that words of the type स्वामी (स्वामिन्) shorten the *i* in the oblique cases, but this is a mere attempt at aping Sanskrit. The popular speech takes no heed of such refinements.

Bengali is similar to Oṛiya in its treatment of the stem, which it subjects to no preparatory change when used with case-affixes, though, as these affixes are different from those in use in Oṛiya, it is necessary to give examples. Thus, in nouns ending in a consonant, we have the following cases in which collision might occur, owing to the particles beginning with a vowel:

Sing. N.	kukkur, "dog."	Pl. kukkur-*erâ*.
G.	kukkur-*er*,	kukkur-*er diger*.
L.	kukkur-*e*,	
	or kukkur-*ete*.	

In the plural, however, it is more usual to add a word denoting plurality, as will be shown hereafter, to which the case-particles are affixed. The form of the plural in *-erâ* is generally restricted to words descriptive of human beings, as *santânerâ*, "sons."

Words which end in vowels retain the form of the nominative stem throughout, and avoid collision by eliding the initial vowel

of the particle, just as in Oṛiya, though—owing to the very unsettled character of the language, which has not yet made up its mind which of its varying forms it will regard as the classical, or generally to be adopted—some difference of practice is observable among good speakers and writers. I follow the guidance of Shamacharan Sirkar, who, however, like most learned Bengalis, leans rather too decidedly to the Sanskrit and high-flown side of his language, though he is practical enough to notice most of the peculiarities of the spoken language. Thus—

Sing. Nom. ghoṛâ, "horse,"	Pl. N. ghorâ-*gaṇ*, etc.
G. ghoṛâ-*r*.	
L. ghoṛâ-*e*.	
= ghorâ-*y*.	

Further examples are—

nârî, "woman,"	G. nârî-*r*,	N. Pl. nârî-*râ*.
paśu, "beast,"	G. paśu-*r*,	L. paśu-*te*.
jau, "lac,"	G. jau-*r*.	

Very frequently the plural signs are entirely omitted, and the fact of plurality left to be inferred from the context. In Old Bengali, instead of eliding the initial vowel of the case-particle, collision is avoided by inserting য. This letter is not pronounced, but acts as a fulcrum merely. Thus the G. of জী "lac," would be written জীয়ের, or in its own characters জৌয়ের, the dot under the য indicating that it is to be softly pronounced, and not, as usual, like *j*. For instance, in Kabi Kankan's Chaṇḍi, where the merchant's wife Khullanâ is subjected to the ordeal of being burnt in a house built of lac and other inflammable substances, Vishwakarman builds for the purpose—

জৌয়ের আড়া জৌয়ের পাড়ি জৌয়ের কপাট

jau'er âṛâ, jau'er pâṛi, jau'er kapâṭ.

Beams of lac, rafters of lac, doors of lac.

§ 40. Hindi, with which in all important respects agrees Panjabi, comes next in respect of simplicity. All nouns ending in a consonant remain unchanged throughout. The only class in which any change takes place is that of nouns in *â*, when derived from Skr. nouns in *-as*, through the intermediate forms *au* and *o*. Nouns of this class form their oblique singular and nom. pl. in *e*. As Sing. N. बेटा "son," Obl. बेटे, N. Pl. बेटे. The oblique pl. is in Old-Hindi *ani* or *an*, in Modern-Hindi *-on*. Thus—

Sing. N. घोडा "horse."	N. Pl. घोडे.
Obl. घोडे.	Obl. घोडों.

To this oblique form are added the case-particles, as घोडे को "to a horse," घोडों को "to horses." Exempted from this rule are those nouns in *á* derived from Skr. nouns whose nom. is already *á*; as राजा "king," दाता "giver:" these do not change in the singular oblique, or nom. pl.; thus they say राजा को "to a king," दाता "givers." The rule is carelessly kept in old writers, and even in the present day among the peasantry one may often hear घोडा को; moreover, the neglect of the plural is very common, and it is colloquially more usual to employ the singular, as बीस घोडा "twenty horses." Instances of neglect of the rule in Old-Hindi poets are these—

तिहि बेरां आयौ कहै ॥ डेरा मांहि पनग ॥

"At that time came somehow Into the tent a snake."—Chand, i. 246.

Where we should expect डेरे में. A similar passage is

राज आए डेरा मधि ॥

"The king came into his tent."—Chand, i. 194.

And in the Bhaktamâlá occur कटोरा में "in the cup," लरिका के "of the boy" (Namdev.).

The feminine noun in *i* undergoes no change in the oblique singular; in the plural the inflection of plurality is appended to

the simple unchanged stem, as बेटी को "to a daughter," बेटीआं को "to daughters." No other preparation of the stem occurs in Hindi, which is thus, except in the one instance of nouns in *â*, as simple as Bengali or Oṛiya. Panjabi retains unchanged all nouns ending in a consonant; those which end in a vowel are treated much as in Hindi. Thus—

N. Sing. मुंडा "boy."	Pl. N. मुंडे.
Obl. मुंडे.	Obl. मुंडिआं.

So also in words which have anuswâra over the final *â*; as

N. Sing. वणिआं "trader."	N. Pl. वणिएं.
Obl. वणिएं.	Obl. वणिआं.

Panjabi has no fear of the hiatus, any more than Hindi has, and even in nouns where the final *â* is preceded by a vowel, it makes no effort to prevent collision; one instance in point is the word last quoted, another is परखऊआ "a trier," obl. परखऊए *parakhaûe*, pl. n. the same, and pl. oblique परखऊइआं *parakhaûiâṇ!* where no less than four vowels follow one another. It would not be inaccurate, however, though unusual, to write परखौआं, thus avoiding the hiatus altogether. Still, a few words, ending in उ and उं, change that letter to व before the termination of the oblique plural; but even this is optional, and in a language so split up into dialects as Panjabi, no hard and fast rule can be laid down. पिउ "father," writes the oblique pl. पिवां नुं "to fathers;" काउं "crow," कावां नुं "to crows;" माउं "mother," मावां नुं "to mothers;" but पिउआं, काउंआं, are also heard in some districts.

There is nothing more to be said about these two languages at present.

§ 41. Gujarati is older in form than Hindi, and is in fact little more than an archaic dialect of that language, brought by the Châlukya Râjputs into the peninsula of Kâthiâwâḍ, and there iso-

lated and cut off from the other Hindi dialects, and thus gradually developed into a separate language, retaining antique forms which have dropped out of use in the parent speech. Its grammatical formations are consequently more complicated than those of Hindi, and in respect of the preparation of the stem it exhibits special peculiarities. Nouns ending in a consonant (*i.e.* mute *a*) in this language have more than one form, but the oblique form is not universally applied. In some cases the case-particles are affixed to the direct or nominative form, in others to the oblique; the accusative and dative (which are really only two different branches of one case, the objective) and the genitive affix their case-particles to the direct form; the instrumental, locative, and ablative use both the direct and oblique forms. Thus from દેવ "a god," there come

Acc. and D.	દેવ નેં.
G.	દેવ નો.
Inst.	દેવ થી.
Abl.	*id.*
Loc.	દેવ માં.

The oblique form is the same as the nom.; but there is also an oblique in *e*, as દેવે, of which more will be said in a subsequent section; this form alone is used as an instrumental and a locative; but both these cases ordinarily take case-particles to define their meaning more sharply; in which case we sometimes find the direct, and sometimes the oblique stem used; thus, *abl.* દેવ થી and દેવે થી, *instr.* દેવે કરીને, *id.* It will be pointed out in its proper place that Gujarati is fond of heaping up pleonastic case-particles, this is one instance: દેવે, already bearing the meaning "by a god," the form દેવે થી is pleonastic, but is utilized to express a slightly different shade of meaning. The result in Gujarati is a striking proof of the essential unity of all the languages in the group, the termination *e* running through them all in a singularly homogeneous way. It would be strictly

correct to say, that in nouns with a consonantal ending, Gujarati, like its parent Hindi, has no separate form for the oblique, the form in *e*, which has now crept into use, being, as will be shown presently, an old case-ending, or rather two separate case-endings confused together. The plural of nouns of this class is formed by *o*, as દેવો "gods;" to this the ending in *e* is added, as દેવોએ, but only in the instrumental and locative.

Masculine nouns in *o*, corresponding to H. in *â*, from Skr. *a*-stems, have three forms for the singular; the nominative in *o*, the purely oblique in *â*, and the instrumental-locative in *e*, thus—

1. Sing. Nom.	દાહાડો	"day."
2. Objective	દાહાડા	નેં.
3. Instr. and L.	દાહાડે.	

But the instrumental and ablative append their case-endings to both 2 and 3, as દાહાડા થી and દાહાડે થી. The genitive uses only 2, as દાહાડા નો; and the locative, when it takes the case-ending, uses 2; when not, it uses 3: thus we have both દાહાડા માં and દાહાડે for "in a day." Strangely, too, the instr. sometimes adds its *e* to form 2, and appears as દાહાડાએ. The plural of this form is regularly *â*, as દાહાડા "days;" but this appears to have been felt too vague, and in modern times an *o* has been added, which brings the plural of this form into homogeneity with the plural of consonantal nouns; thus it is now spoken દાહાડાઓ, to which latter forms case-endings are affixed. Here, again, the instrumental adds its *e* to the fuller form, giving a string of vowels, as દાહાડાઓએ *dâhâḍâoe*, "by days." Precisely similar in all but the nominative is the corresponding neuter noun in ઉં; thus, મોહોડું "a face," pl. મોહોડાં, where the anuswâra alone differentiates it from the masc.; the modern form with *o*, however, drops the anuswâra, and is thus identical with the masc., as in મોહોડાઓ. Nouns

ending in all other vowels, including *o*, when it is not derived from Skr. bases in -as, add the *es* and *os* to the final vowel, without making any phonetic combinations. Examples are :

N. Sing.	*pati*, "lord,"	Instr.	*patie*,	N. Pl.	*patio*,	Instr.	*patioe*,
,,	*nadí*, "river,"	,,	*nadíe*,	,,	*nadío*,	,,	*nadíoe*.
,,	*vastu*, "thing,"	,,	*vastue*,	,,	*vastuo*,	,,	*vastuoe*.
,,	*vahú*, "wife,"	,,	*vahúe*,	,,	*vahúo*,	,,	*vahúoe*, or *vahuoe*.[1]
,,	*chho*, "mortar,"	,,	*chhoe*,	,,	*chhoö*,	,,	*chhoöe*.

The spelling of Gujarati is still very unfixed, and the fulcrum य is often used, as in Bengali, where vowels come together, and has no effect on the pronunciation, પતિએ and પતિયે are written indifferently.

Marathi, which comes next, is in every respect a complicated language, having been unable to work itself free from that maze of forms and terminations which an ancient synthetical language always leaves behind it. In the matter we are now discussing, its usual ill-luck follows it, and the student is irritated by the variety of the changes he encounters. In addition to special forms for the locative and instrumental, it has the regular four forms, the two nominatives and two obliques, and is, moreover, encumbered with three genders. The variations in the oblique, which is also the crude form, are divided by grammarians into six classes, a division which will be followed here, though it is not quite free from exception. There is some want of fixity in Marathi in this point, and authors are not quite at one as regards the forms to be used in some nouns.

(1). Masculine and neuter nouns ending in mute *a*, lengthen that vowel in the oblique form of the singular; masculines

[1] No distinction is ordinarily made in G. between long and short *i* or *u*. In fact, the ordinary current hand has not distinct characters for the two sounds.

have the same form for pl. nom. as for sing., while neuters add एं; the oblique plural in both cases is formed by आं. Thus we have—

MASCULINE.			NEUTER.	
N. Sing. बाप "father,"	N. Pl. बाप.		घर "house,"	घरें.
Obl. बापा	Obl. बापां.		घरा	घरां.

Similar to this class is that of nouns in इ and उ, which lengthen their respective vowels; all three genders are treated in the same way.

N. Sing. कवि "poet,"	N. Pl. कवि.	N. Sing. मधु "honey,"	N. Pl. मधु.
Obl. कवी,	Obl. कवीं.	Obl. मधू,	Obl. मधूं.

The three short vowels are so far perfectly homogeneous in their treatment.

(2). Feminines in short *a*, such as the words given in § 11, where the short *a* has arisen from shortening the long *â* of a Skr. fem., form their oblique sing. in *e*, their pl. nom. in *â*, and pl. oblique in *ân*; and words of the same class, which have retained their original long *â*, are formed in the same way. Thus जीभ "tongue," and माता "mother," differ only in the nominative singular.

N. Sing. जीभ "tongue,"	N. Pl. जीभा.	N. Sing. माता,	N. Pl. माता.
Obl. जीभे,	Obl. जीभां.	Obl. माते,	Obl. मातां.

(3). These same feminines in short *a*, however, exercise the feminine privilege of not knowing their own minds; for while some take *e* in the oblique, others take *î*, and a large number vacillate between the two.

N. Sing. आग "fire,"	N. Pl. आगी.
Obl. आगी,	Obl. आगीं.

फांक "a slice," has फांकीला and फांकेला "to a slice;" चीड "offence," चीडेला and चीडीला.

(4). Long vowels follow the same general principle as the short ones; their vowel being already long, no further change takes place in the oblique singular. The formation of the plural is multiform, and will be discussed in a separate section; the oblique plural, like that of class 1, only differs from the singular by the addition of anuswâra in nouns ending in *â*: in other cases anuswâra is added to the form of the nom. plural, which is a recrudescence of the vowel of the singular into its semivowel, effected by the addition of *â*.

N. Sing.	बाबा "father,"	Obl. बाबा,	N. Pl. बाबा,	Obl. बाबां.
„	गाडी "cart,"	„ गाडी,	„ गाड्या,	„ गाड्यां.
„	सासू {"mother-in-law,"}	„ सासू,	„ सासवा,	„ सासवां.
„	बायको "woman,"	„ बायको,	„ बायका,	„ बायकां.

This may be considered the typical method of treating nouns ending in a long vowel, but there are yet two other processes.

(5). A few words ending in ऊ and ऊं masc. and neut., and all diminutives in रूं and डूं, have a way of their own. They reject the labial vowel, and form the oblique sing. in *â*, pl. *ân̲*. Masculines have the same form for both nominatives, neuters having the invariable neuter pl. in एं.

N. Sing.	{वाटसरू "traveller,"}	Obl. वाटसरा,	N. Pl. वाटसरू,	Obl. वाटसरां.
„	तट्टूं "pony,"	„ तट्टा,	„ तट्टें,	„ तट्टां.

(6). Lastly, as if purposely to complicate their language, the Marathas have a totally different method of treating nouns of all three genders ending in long vowels, as well as those neuters which end in an anuswâra. The process here adopted is the hardening of the final vowel into its semivowel—आ in this case having no semivowel of its own, takes य—and affixing to

the secondary stem so formed the masculine oblique termination *â* for masc. and neuter nouns, and the fem. *e* for fem. nouns. This class, however, is not well fixed, for many masculine words in it may optionally form their oblique as in class 4, and the feminines as in classes 2 and 3. Thus विंचू "a scorpion," *m.*, may in the dative form be विंचूला or विंचवाला. The fem. सासू may either make as above सासूला, or under this rule सासवेला. There are even some words which are spoken in three ways: thus नातू "grandson," *m.*, नातूला, नाताला, and नातवाला. अंसूं *n.* "tear," अंसूला, अंसाला, अंसवाला.

Types of this class are the following:

		OBL.	N. PL.	OBL.
In आ.	सासरा "father-in-law,"	सासर्या,	सासरे,	सासर्यां.
In ई.	जांवई "son-in-law,"	जांवया,	जांवई,	जांवयां.
„	माळी "gardener,"	माळ्या,	माळी,	माळ्यां.
In ऊ.	जळू "leech" (*f.*),	जळ्वे,	जळ्वा,	जळ्वां.
„	भाऊ "brother" (*m.*),	भावा,	भाऊ,	भावां.

Exceptional is स्त्री "woman," making Obl. स्त्रिये; N. Pl. स्त्रिया, Obl. स्त्रियां. The above are all the forms in use in Marathi, and in this last class it must be noted that polysyllabic nouns in ऊ do not join the *v* arising therefrom to the preceding consonant, but keep a short *a* between; thus, तारू "ship," तारवाला, not तार्वाला; also that monosyllables in *ú*, not only change that vowel to व, but still retain the vowel, though shortened, as सू "needle," सुवाला.

We now pass on to Sindhi, in which language we have the good fortune of being able to avail ourselves of the inestimable labours of that sound scholar, Dr. Trumpp, whose grammar of Sindhi is the only grammar of any of our seven languages which has as yet been written on correct philological principles. In the following abstract I work entirely from Dr. Trumpp's materials, though I have altered his arrangement slightly in

order to bring it into harmony with that followed in respect of the other languages. Sindhi has, like Gujarati, the locative in *e*, as डेहें "in a country" (Skr. देशे). It has, besides, the usual four forms, to wit, the two nominatives and two obliques, as in Marathi.

(1). The consonantal ending or mute *a* of the other languages is represented in Sindhi by *u* for the masc., and *a* or *i* for the fem. Nouns in *u* have the following scheme of forms:

N. Sing.	दासु "slave."	N. Pl.	दास.
Obl.	दास.	Obl.	दासां, दासिं, दासनि.

Where the final *u* is preceded by *a*, the semivowel is inserted to prevent hiatus; it is also inserted after आं, and optionally after other vowels, except *i* or *i*.

रउ "weed,"	Obl. रव.	डेउ "demon,"	Obl. डेअ or डेव.
थांउ "dish,"	„ थांव.	डिंउ "mound,"	„ डिंअ.
वाउ "wind,"	„ वाअ or वाव.	वींउ "meadow,"	„ वींअ.

Nouns which end in short *u*, derived from other sources than the Skr. *a*-stem, remain unaltered in the oblique singular, and in the oblique plural either follow the nom. plur. or sing. The words of this class are chiefly, if not entirely, the old words of relationship, which in the formation of the plural follow the Prakrit system.

N. SING.	OBL.	N. PL.	OBL.
पिउ "father,"	पिउ.	पिउर,	पिउनि or पिउरनि.
भाउ "brother,"	भाउ.	भाउर,	भाउनि or भाउरनि.
भेणु "sister,"	भेणु.	भेणूं or भेणऱ्हूं,	भेणुनि or भेणऱ्हनि.

In the feminines in *u* the vowel is shortened in the oblique plural, as—

N. Sing.	ससु "mother-in-law,"	N. Pl.	ससूं,	Obl.	ससुनि.
„	विज़ु "lightning,"	„	विज़ूं,	„	विज़ुनि.

(2). Nouns in short *a*, which is always fem., do not change for the oblique sing.; their oblique pl. is given below.

N. SING.	OBL.	N. PL.	OBL.
काम "beam,"	काम,	कामूं or कामां,	कामें or कामुनि.
सध "wish,"	सध,	सधूं or सधां,	सधें or सधुनि.

And the same holds good of nouns in short *i*, both masc. and fem., the only peculiarity being that masc. nouns use the older and longer form in इनि exclusively, as केहरि "lion," obl. pl. केहरिनि.

(3). The termination *o*, corresponding to the *á* of Hindi and the other languages, modulates into *e* for the oblique singular, and *án*, *ên*, or *ni* for the plural; thus—

N. S. मथो "head," Obl. मथे, N. Pl. मथा, Obl. मथां, मथें, मथनि.

When this final *o* is preceded by *a* or *á*, it inserts *v*, to prevent hiatus, but not when preceded by other vowels.

(4). The other long vowels may be grouped together, as below:

आ	N. Sing. आग्या, "command,"	Obl. आग्या,	N. Pl. आग्याऊं,	Obl. आग्याउनि.
ई	„ माली, "gardener,"	„ मालिअ,	„ माली,	„ मालिआं, °एं, °इनि, °इअनि, °इउनि.
ऊ	„ वाघू, "crocodile,"	„ वाघुअ,	„ वाघू,	„ वाघुआं, etc.

When the anuswâra precedes the final vowel, it is retained in the oblique forms also.

§ 42. The following table exhibits the whole of the typical terminations of the nominal stem in all the languages except Bengali and Oriya; these two languages having no change of the stem need not be included:

STEM.	FORM.	HINDI.		PANJABI.		GUJARATI.	MARATHI.				SINDHI.	
		MASC.	FEM.	MASC.	FEM.		MASC.	FEM.		NEUT.	MASC.	FEM.
अ mute.	Nom. Sing.	—	—	—		—	—	—		—	उ	अ
	Oblique ,,	—	—	—		—	आ	ए	ई	आ	अ	अ
	Nom. Pl. .	—	एं	—	आं	ओ	—	आ	ई	एं	अ	ऊं आं
	Oblique Pl.	ओं	ओं	आं		ओ	आं	आं	ईं	आं	आं, एं, अनि	एं, उनि, etc.[1]
इ	N. Sing. .	इ		इ		इ	इ				इ	इ
	O. Sing. .	इ		इ		इ	ई				इ	इ
	N. Pl. . . .	इ		इ		इओ	इ	M. F. N.			इ	इऊं
	O. Pl. . . .	इओं		इआं		इओ	ईं				इआं, इएं, इनि	इआं, etc.[1]
उ	N. Sing. .	उ		उ		उ	उ					उ
	O. Sing. .	उ		उ		उ	ऊ					उ
	N. Pl. . . .	उ		उ		उओ	उ	M. F. N.				ऊं
	O. Pl. . . .	उओं		उआं		उओ	ऊं					उनि

		MASC.	FEM.	MASC.	FEM.	MASC.	NEUT.	MASC.		FEM.	NEUT.	MASC.	FEM.
आ	N. Sing. .	आ		आ		ओ	उं	आ	आ	आ	एं	ओ	आ
	O. Sing. .	ए		ए		आ	आ	आ	या	ए आ	या	ए	आ
	N. Pl. . . .	ए	आएं	ए	आईं	आओ	आंओ	आ	ए	आ	ईं	आ	आऊं
	O. Pl. . . .	ओं		इआं		आओ	आंओ	आं	यां	आं	यां	आं, एं, अनि	आउनि
ई	N. Sing. .	ई		ई				ई		ई	ईं	ई	ई
	O. Sing. .	ई		ई				ई	या	ई इये	या	इअ	इअ
	N. Pl. . . .	ई	ईआं	ई	ईआं			ई		या	यें ईं	ई	इयूं, इऊं, यूं
	O. Pl. . . .	ईओं		ईआं				ईं	यां	यां	यां	इआं, etc.	इआं, etc.
ऊ	N. Sing. .	ऊ		ऊ				ऊ		ऊ	ऊं	ऊ	
	O. Sing. .	ऊ		ऊ				ऊ	आ वा	ऊ वे	वा	उअ	
	N. Pl. . . .	ऊ	ऊआं	ऊ	ऊआं			ऊ		वा	वें	ऊ	
	O. Pl. . . .	ऊओं		ऊआं				ऊं	आं वां	वां	वां	उआं, etc.	

[1] Here are omitted, for want of space, the numerous variations of the plural form which have been given in the previous section, where the reader can turn to find them.

From this table, which is designed to show merely the leading and typical terminations of each language, are purposely left out all rare or exceptional forms, such as the small handful of words ending in *o*, not derived from *a*-stems, a few in *e* and *ai*, and the like.

§ 43. Before entering upon the attempt to explain and account for the manifold variations of the oblique form of the noun, it is necessary first to exhibit the system of forming the plural. The terminations of the nominative of the plural have been given along with those of the oblique in the foregoing sections, but nothing has been said in explanation of them.

In respect of the plural this group of languages may be divided into two classes: first, those which form their plural always in one unchanging way; and, secondly, those which have more than one way of forming it. In the latter class stand Marathi and Sindhi, in the former all the rest.

Of the former, or uniform languages, the simplest are, as usual, Oṛiya and Bengali. Oṛiya formerly made its plural by adding *e*, as *kumâr*, "boy," pl. *kumâre*. This plural is still found in poetry. Thus Dinkrishna (A.D. 1520) writes of Krishna and Balarâma—

कुआं कुआं जे कुमारि रोदंति ॥
कळकंठ कंठ हेळे निंदंति ॥

"When the children weep with wailing cry,
They easily surpass the song of the Kokila."

—*Rasakallola*, iii. 110.

And again—

कर्ण देइ शुन साधु जने ॥
कुमारंक जनमिले केते दिने ॥

"Giving ear, listen, O virtuous men!
Some days after the children were born."—*id.* iv. 1.

—where *kumâre*, *jane*, and *dine* are the nominatives plural of *kumâr*, *jan*, and *din* respectively. This form, however, was

probably found too indistinct, and was liable to be confounded with the instrumental and locative singular. A noun of multitude was therefore adopted; and the word selected was मान "measure," a word already in use in isolated expressions, such as दिनमान "daily," in other languages. A distinction is made in the use of this word between animate and inanimate objects; thus they say बलद् "ox," *pl.* बलद्माने; पडिसा "neighbour," *pl.* पडिसामाने; but जाल "net," *pl.* जालमान; भार "a load," *pl.* भारमान. The *e* indicative of the plural is here retained, but tacked on to the plural sign *mân*, only in the case of living beings; it is omitted in the case of inanimate objects. The case-particles are affixed to a form मानं; thus the genitive sign is मानंकर, now-a-days often, but erroneously, written मानङ्कर. The Oṛiya language is absolutely and undeviatingly regular in its way of forming the plural, the method above described is the only one in use, and the language does not contain a single exception.

Bengali has more than one way of expressing the plural, but I reckon it among the uniform languages because of the methods in use only one is a true plural; the others are periphrases or compounds of two words, and not, strictly speaking, plurals at all. The regular form of the Bengali plural is एरा *erâ*; the initial letter of which is elided when it follows a noun ending in a vowel. It is not unfrequently elided, even when attached to nouns ending in mute *a*. This form of the plural is now in practice restricted to rational beings, and even in their case the periphrastic plural has gradually come to be used. Examples of the true plural are—

पुरुष "man,"	Pl. पुरुषेरा or पुरुषरा.
बालक "boy,"	,, बालकेरा or बालकरा.
राजा "king,"	,, राजारा.
नारी "woman,"	,, नारीरा.

Sometimes a form simply in *e*, as in Oṛiya, is used for the

plural, as লোকে "people." This is the genuine old plural, of which *erá* is the modern representative. The periphrastic plur. is formed by adding to the singular some word indicative of *multitude*. The words so employed are the following: গণ "multitude," বর্গ "class," সকল, সমস্ত, সব, "all," সমূহ "whole," গুল, গুলা, গুলি or গুলিন, "number." Of these গণ, বর্গ, and perhaps সমূহ, are more commonly used with rational beings, the others with irrational or inanimate things, and গুলি is familiar. Thus they would say, ঘোড়া সকল "horses," ছেলে গুলি "children, brats." When these words are used to form the plural, they take the case-particles and endings, leaving the noun quite uninflected, thus—

N. Sing. কুক্কুর "dog," N. Pl. কুক্কুর সমূহ "dogs."
G. . . কুক্কুর সমূহের "of dogs."
Obj. . কুক্কুর সমূহকে "dogs," "to dogs."
Instr. কুক্কুর সমূহ দ্বারা "by dogs."
Abl. . কুক্কুর সমূহ হৈতে "from dogs," etc.

And even in words which use the true, and not the periphrastic plural, all cases but the nominative preserve the noun itself from change by inserting দিগ "side;" thus—

N. Sing. দেবতা "god," N. Pl. দেবতারা "gods."
G. দেবতাদিগের, or shortened °দের "of gods."
Obl. দেবতাদিগকে "to gods," etc.

Lastly, Bengali being in the verb careless of plural forms, it is idiomatic to use simply the singular for the plural, leaving the hearer to understand what is meant by the context. This is especially the case where a numeral is included in the sentence, as হাড়ি ও মুচি এই দুই জাতি প্রায় অন্য সকল জাতির অন্ন খায় *Hári o Muchi ei dui játi práy anya sakal játir anna khái*, "Háris and Muchis, these two castes eat the food of almost all the other castes." Here, though the sense is clearly plural, the whole sentence is actually singular, and would literally be ren-

dered, "Hari and Muchi, this two caste almost of all other caste the food eats." An interesting example of this peculiarity may be adduced from Bharat Chandra's well-known poem, the "Bidyâ Sundar," where he is describing the strange nations collected in the fort of Bardwan (A.D. 1740).

প্রথম গড়েতে কালাপোষের নিবাস।
ইঙ্গরাজ ওলন্দাজ ফিরিঙ্গী ফরাস॥
দিনেমার এলেমান করে গোলন্দাজী।
সফরিয়া নানা দ্রব্য আনয়ে জাহাজী॥

"In the first fort is the dwelling of the black-coat
Ingrâj, Olandâj, Firingi, Farâs,
Dinemâr, Elemân, practises artillery,
Wanderer various goods brings in ship."[1]

The whole of these nouns are, of course, in meaning plural, but in form singular, agreeing with the singular verbs *kare* and *ânaye*. The passage, like all genuine Bengali, has a large sprinkling of Persian words, as جہازي, سفري, گول انداز.

Hindi forms its plural very simply, with its usual practical common sense. Nouns with consonantal ending have the nom. pl. and sing. alike, as बालक "boy," nom. pl. बालक "boys." The oblique plural is in Old-Hindi formed by अनि, which modulates into अन् and अन्ह. In the modern language this becomes ओं. Feminines ending in a consonant form the nom. pl. in एं, as रात "night," nom. pl. रातें. Nouns ending in *â* masc., from the Skr. *a*-stem, make their plural in ए, and the corresponding fem. in *î* becomes ईआं. Thus—

लडका "boy,"	N. Pl. लडके,	Obl. लडकों.
लडकी "girl,"	,, लडकीआं,	,, लडकीओं.

[1] These nations are ourselves and our European neighbours, who were known then, as now, to the Bengalis by their French names, the French being in these days the most important of the foreign settlers. Thus, Ingrâj is "Anglais," or English; Olandâj, "Hollandais," Dutch; Firingi are the Portuguese, and Farâs, "Français;" Dinemâr is a corruption of Denmark, and Elemân are "Allemands," or Germans.

In Old-Hindi the nom. pl. fem. was ईं, as पोथी "book," nom. pl. पोथीं; this form is still preserved in the participle. These few forms are all that Hindi finds necessary to express ideas, while Marathi and Sindhi have not had the skill to reduce their working apparatus into one or two plain homogeneous classes.

Panjabi is also quite uniform and simple in its plural. Nouns ending in *á* form the nom. pl. in *e*, all others have the two nominatives identical. An exception is made by a small class typified by माउं "mother," which forms its plural मावां, though माउं would not be wrong for the plural.

Gujarati is extremely uniform, simply adding *o* to the singular of all nouns of every description. In nouns ending in *o*, from the Sanskr. *a*-stem, this *o* becomes in the plural nom. *á*, and this was originally the only plural termination for nouns of this stem. But *o* having become the general type of the plural for all other stems, the popular feeling could not rest content with an anomaly: the plurals in *á* were not felt to be true plurals so long as they lacked the universal plural sign *o*, and this was accordingly tacked on; so that we now hear छोकरो "boy," pl. छोकडाओ; and neuters of this class, which formerly made their plural in आं, now also take an additional ओ, as इंडुं "egg," nom. pl. इंडांओ.

§ 44. Marathi plurals are multiform, but need not be given here, as they have already been shown in the last section. The plurals of Sindhi, however, which are also multiform, require to be drawn out more in detail. Trumpp exhibits seven classes, which are here given.

1. { Nouns in उ masc. form N. Pl. in अ as खूड़ "a well," N. Pl. खूह (Skr. कूप).
   { „ उ *fem.* „ „ ऊं „ वथु "thing," „ वथूं (Skr. वस्तु).
2. „ ओ (ऑ) „ „ आ „ वाढो "carpenter," N. Pl. वाढा (Skr. वर्धक).

3. Nouns in ऊ (ऊं) { fem. form / N. Pl. in } ऊं „ विछूं "scorpion," N. Pl. विछूं (Skr. वृश्चिक).

4. „ आ „ „ आऊं „ हचा "murder," N. Pl. हचाऊं (Skr. हत्या).

5. „ अ „ ऊं or आं „ तर् "nostril," N. Pl. तरूं or तरां.

6. { „ ई (ईं) { masc. are unchanged in pl. } „ वे़ली "servant," „ वे़ली.
   „ ई { fem. form / the pl. in } ईऊं, यूं „ गोली "slave girl," N. P. गोलीयूं, गालीऊं, गोल्यूं.

7. { „ इ masc. „ „ इ „ सेठि "merchant," N. Pl. सेठि (Skr. श्रेष्ठी
   „ इ fem. „ „ इऊं „ राति "night," N. Pl. रातिऊं (Skr. रात्रि).

There are a few exceptions, or rather words which preserve a Prakritic method of forming their plural, and these will be noticed in the next section.

§ 45. Having now given the facts as regards the plural and oblique forms, we may attempt to trace their origin, and the steps by which they arrived at their present condition. In doing this we naturally look to the Prakrits, rather than to Sanskrit, because these modern languages are in reality developments of the Prakrits, or common colloquial speech of ancient India; and although in the matter of phonesis they have been subjected to influences alien to those which prevailed over the Prakrits, yet in the present instances they are almost strictly Prakritic. In fact, these modifications of the stem, to fit it to assume case-particles, are nothing more than relics of the old case-endings of the early Aryan speech, which have been so reduced by use, that what remains of them no longer suffices to indicate the case-relations clearly, and particles have to be called in for the purpose.

A remarkable family likeness runs through all the plurals

of the uniform languages, and extends to a certain extent into the multiform languages. The difference between the two classes is this, that while the former have selected for use one or two Prakrit forms only, and have applied them to all kinds of stems indifferently, the latter have taken the separate Prakrit form for each stem. In this respect these latter are decidedly behind their comrades, and it may be suspected, and indeed partially proved, that Hindi and Gujarati have centuries ago passed through the stage in which Marathi and Sindhi still remain; though, from the oft-lamented absence of literary monuments prior to Chand (A.D. 1200), we are unable to trace the steps more than by few and faint indications.

The most widely used form of Sanskrit noun is the *a*-stem; this forms in the nom. plural masc. and fem. *áh*, neut. *áni*. The *áh* of the masc. and fem. is in many of the Prakrit dialects changed into *e*; this change rests upon the tendency to break down *á* into *e*, already discussed in Vol. I. p. 137. In those Prakrit dialects which received most literary cultivation, the Maharashtri and Magadhi, the pl. masc. ends in *á*; this ending has been preserved by G. and S. as the plural of masculine nouns in *o*; as G. भालो, nom. pl. भाला (modern भालाओ), S. *id.* The ending in *e* has been adopted by H. P., and, in some cases, by M. also; as H. P. बेटा, nom. pl. बेटे. In the case of masculines in *á*, Marathi has both forms, that in *á* and that in *e*. Of these two, however, the latter is the regular form, and the former is only found in a few peculiar terms of respect and the like, as बाबा "father," nom. pl. बाबा, where we cannot ascribe the word to a Sanskrit *a*-stem, but must regard it rather as an onomatopoetic or fanciful formation. The retention of the *á* in the nom. pl. of B. and O. is not attributable to the Skr., but is simply due to the general tendency of those languages to reject all sign of plurality in favour of the periphrastic construction with গণ, or মান, already described.

The special Bengali plural in *erá* divides itself into two parts:

the first of which, *e*, is the old plural form of nouns ending in mute *a*; and the second, *râ*, by the fact of its being confined to living beings which possess a distinct individuality, as contrasted with inanimate objects, connects itself with the reduplicated plural of personal pronouns, as *âmarâ* "we," *tomarâ* "ye." The origin of this form will be searched out in the Chapter on Pronouns. It is sufficient in this place to note that this ending, by origin a pronominal one, has passed over to a certain class of nouns, and that it is in this latter usage of modern date, not being found in the oldest literary documents of the language. So modern is it, that in the form *erâ* we have really a double plural, the old ending in *e* having lost its sense of plurality in the popular mind before the *râ* was added.

The general preference of the lower kinds of Prakrit, and after them of several of the modern languages, for the form of the masc. pl. in *e*, rests, in my opinion, on the fact that even in Skr. this is the regular form for the class of pronominal adjectives, as सर्व: "all," nom. pl. सर्वे. It is admitted that this method of declension represents an older and more genuine form of the *a*-stem; and it is in keeping with the general peculiarities of these languages to suppose that they derived their forms from the ancient Aryan language, and left on one side the modifications introduced into classical Sanskrit.

Next comes the neuter plural, which is of special importance, because it has usurped in many cases the functions of all other plurals. In Skr. it ends in *âni*, as धनं "wealth," nom. pl. धनानि. In Prakrit this form becomes *âi* or *âiṁ*, as धणाइ or धणाइं; "usus addit nasalem," says Lassen, p. 307, but it seems more likely that the nasal is a relic of the न of the Skr. आनि, and it would be more correct to regard the form आइं as the older of the two, and to say of the other form "usus omittit nasalem." As early as the scenic Prakrit this form has passed over to the masculine, and we find दन्ताइं as pl. of the masc. दन्तो. In Old-Hindi, the universal form of the pl. for all genders pre-

serves the Sanskrit form better than Prakrit does, by writing अनि; as नरनि "men," वत्तनि "words." At a later stage the final *i* is rejected, and the form becomes अन, as बालकन "boys." The language, however, does not feel the need of any sign to distinguish the nom. pl. from the sing.; and this termination, which, as will be pointed out later on, has become fused into one with that of the genitive in आनां, has remained in use only in the oblique cases, to which the Middle-Hindi adds an ह, making the termination अन्ह. Thus in Tulsi Das we have (A.D. 1650) regularly such plural forms as अखारन्ह "wrestling-places," एकन्ह "some," चरनन्ह "feet." The Middle-Hindi poets use all three forms side by side; thus in the same page one sees भकतनि "devotees," कुमारन्ह "youths," and घरन "houses." Only in the fem. of words with a consonantal ending is the Prakrit form in use. Thus from आइं with anuswâra we get the Old-Hindi form in *aiṉ*, as रातिं "nights," from which comes the modern form रातिं. The masculines of this form do not change in the plural, and the retention of this ending for the fem. is probably due to a desire to mark the difference of gender. Although the ending आइं is, as we have seen, neuter, yet Hindi has lost the neuter; and this ending had even in Prakrit got loose from the neuter, and was used for all genders, so that its application to the fem. in Hindi is not surprising. Marathi is more exact in using एं, which is contracted from आइं, as a neuter, thus preserving the original gender. This एं is used for the nom. pl. of neuters of the consonantal noun, as well as those which end in ई and ऊ, which harden the final vowel of the stem into the corresponding semivowel before this termination, as मोतीं "pearl," pl. मोत्यें; ताऱ्हू "ship," pl. तार्वें or तारवें. In the case of neuters of the *â*-stem, which already in the singular end in एं, the plural does not shorten the Pr. आइं into एं, but, rejecting the first vowel, makes the इं long, and writes ईं, as केळें "plantain," pl. केळीं. The same process takes place in Panjabi after feminines in long *â*, as वला "calamity," pl. वलाईं or वलाईआं.

Gujarati has adopted one, and that the most common, of the Prakrit plural forms for other than *a*-stems, and simply adds ओ to all stems without exception, even to the class ending in *o*, which already had made its plural in *â*, so that it now becomes *âo*, as noted above.

In the same way as it retains एं as the termination of feminines which end in a consonant, so Hindi uses the Pr. form आइं in another way after feminines in long *î* and *û*. Thus बेटी "daughter," pl. बेटीआं; जोरू "wife," pl. जोरूआं, where the final *i* has been dropped, and the anuswâra carried back to the *â*. The same takes place in Panjabi, as धी "daughter," nom. pl. धीआं, and is extended also to feminines of the consonantal ending, as गल्ल "a word," nom. pl. गल्लां. Chand uses this form also with masculines and neuters, with य or व inserted to prevent hiatus, and, with his customary disregard of quantity, often makes the *â* short: thus we see गुरूयं for गुरूआं "spiritual guides," गडुवां "pots." To be connected with this is, I suspect, his not uncommon practice of adding आन, as उरान "breasts," गुरान "gurus," औतान "observances;" but the passages in which these forms occur are so obscure, that it is difficult to pronounce a decided opinion. It is clearly a plural, however, in the following:

महपाप रत द्रव्यान अंध॥

"Addicted to great sin, blinded by riches."—i. 137.

There remains to be deciphered the mystery of the multiform plurals in M. and S. In the former the consonantally ending noun, if masc., undergoes no change; when fem., however, it has two methods, it either makes *â* or *î*. This arises from the fact, that fem. nouns of this type are shortened either from fem. nouns in *â* or *î* in Skr. Thus जीभ "tongue," from Skr. जिह्वा, pl. जिह्वाः, makes its pl. accordingly जीभा; but आग "fire," from Skr. अग्नि, Prakrit अग्गि, pl. अग्गीओ, simply rejects the final *o* of Pr., and takes for its plural आगी. In declining

words of this type in M., it is therefore always necessary to go back to the original, either in Skr. or Pr., in order to ascertain which vowel has been rejected, and thus to know how to form the plural,—a difficult process, which the more advanced languages avoid by simply having one termination for all classes. Even to the natives of the province who have spoken this crabbed language all their lives, this practice causes difficulties; for the grammarians give a long list of words which may be formed in both ways, though, from not knowing the real reason of the co-existence of the two forms, they are unable to pronounce which of the two is correct. Nouns in short इ and उ of all three genders make no change in the plural, being rare in the vulgar speech, and consequently not the subject of any regular development from Prakrit. Masculines, except those in *á*, do not change in the plural. This is a practice which seems to run through all the languages to a greater or less degree, as has been remarked under Hindi; and all neuters of whatever class have a tendency towards एं or its prolonged form ईं. Finally, feminines in ई and ऊ form their plurals in या and वा respectively, in which we may see the Prakrit plural ending ओ changed into *á*, as in Hindi singulars. Prakrit, however, does not dislike the hiatus; it makes plurals देवीओ, वहूओ, from singulars देवी, वहू, where Marathi hardens the stem-vowel into its semivowel, and uses देव्या, वहवा.

Sindhi is quite as multiform, though less irregular than Marathi. The masc. in *u*, corresponding to the consonantally terminated noun of the other languages, forms its nom. pl. in *a*, shortened from the Prakrit pl. of nouns in *o* whose plural ends in *á*, as वच्छो, pl. वच्छा. Trumpp (p. 105) points out very justly, that as the singular ending in *u* is shortened from Pr. *o*, it is consistent that the plural form should be shortened also; though I cannot agree with him in thinking that the Hindi and P. have done the same, as Old-H. makes the nom. pl. of this class in *ani*, which has been subsequently rejected, and which,

as we have already shown, is derived from the Skr. neut. pl. in आनि. The feminines of this class ending in *a* and *i* have separate forms; those in *a*, being shortened from Skr. feminines in *á*, like the corresponding class in Marathi, take either *án* or *ún*. The former of these is to be accounted for, in my opinion, in the same way as Panjabi feminines of the type गड्ड, pl. गड्डां, by the passing over of the Prakrit neuter ending आइं into the fem., and not, as Trumpp suggests, by rejecting the *o* of the Pr. pl. form आओ, because this process would not account for the anuswâra. It is true that M. forms like जीभा, आगी, have rejected the *o* of Pr. जीभाओ, अग्गीओ; but then they have not taken the anuswâra, which S. has. I therefore think it more correct to connect Sindhi in this particular with its neighbour Panjabi, than with distant Marathi.

The other form of the pl. in ऊं is common to all fem. nouns in the language. No satisfactory reason for this form has been shown. Even if we admit that the *o* of Pr. plurals has been changed to *ú*, this does not account for the anuswâra, which is too important a feature to have crept in by accident. It may have been extended to the nominative from the oblique cases of the Apabhranśa pl. (see Lassen, p. 464), as is often the case in other languages. The remaining masculine nouns do not change in the plural.

§ 46. Our next business is with the oblique forms, and this is perhaps the most intricate and difficult part of the inquiry. The oblique forms are, like the nominatives plural, remains of the synthetical declension of the Prakrits, and the mystery is not so much what they are, as how they came to assume their present shapes.

We must start from a fact, patent enough in the Romance languages, but not quite so patent in their Indian congeners, though even in them it can be established by illustrations as well as assumed from analogy. It is this, that at an early

period the distinctive case-endings of the synthetic system became confused, and one was often used for another. Some examples of this practice in mediæval Latin were given at p. 113 of Vol. I. Now in the Prakrits the first step was the total loss of the dative, and the substitution for it of the genitive. The forms of the other cases also began to approach nearer to one another by degrees as they lost the distinctness of Sanskrit, so that in time much confusion crept in, and the terminations, which had been originally very different, all merged eventually into one form, which constitutes the oblique of the modern noun. The languages show their consciousness of the fact that the oblique form is a relic of the various cases (other than the nominative) of the old inflectional noun, by adding the particles which they now employ to indicate cases to this oblique form, and not to the nominative or direct form.

It is not, in my opinion, correct to derive the oblique from any special case of the Prakrit; it rather results from a general fusion of all the cases. I am here speaking of the singular only; the plural oblique, though analogous to the singular, must be traced separately. Taking first the ordinary Sanskrit *a*-stem, which comprises a very large majority of the nouns in the language, it appears that, after the rejection of the dative, the Maharashtri, or principal Prakrit dialect, retained only the following scheme of case-endings. N. *o*, Acc. *aṁ*, Instr. *eṇa*, Ab. *âdo*, *âdu*, G. *assa*, L. *e*. But the distinction between the N. and Acc. was early lost, and there remained, even in this the most Sanskritic of the Prakrits, only four forms, *eṇa*, *âdo*, *assa*, and *e*, for the oblique cases of the noun.

Maharashtri is to a great extent confined to poetry. When it is used in prose, it loses some of its distinctive features, and assimilates to the Sauraseni, the principal prose dialect. In this latter the ablative is found to end in *â*, and *âhi*, and in the Magadhi, the genitive has also begun to draw towards this type, exhibiting the termination *âh*. In the dialect of the

Saptaśataka the ablative terminates in *âdo*, but has also the forms *â*, *âo*, *âu*, and *âhi*. The Bhagavatî has a very similar range of case-endings.

It is, however, especially to the Apabhranśa dialect that we must look with regard to the modern languages, as this dialect seems in most respects to be the truest representative of an actually spoken dialect. Here we find a still greater fusion of case-endings, abl. *âdu*, *âhe*; gen. *âhe*, *âho*; loc. *e*, *i*, *âhiṉ*.

Here we must stop as regards Prakrit, for at this point we reach the gap of many centuries which has not yet been bridged over. When we come to the beginning of the modern period, all case-endings have been lost in most of the languages. The work of fusion went on during that obscure period, and we have no means of discovering how it proceeded.

It is next specially to be noticed that Old-Hindi possesses a singular crude form ending in हि, which is applied without distinction to all cases of the singular. This form takes us back to at least three cases of the Apabhranśa, namely, the ablative, genitive, and locative, and virtually includes four, as the dative was already fused into the genitive. The universality of application of this termination in हि will be seen more clearly when we come to the Pronoun, which in all languages retains archaic forms with peculiar tenacity. But also in the noun its use is very frequent; thus Chand employs it as a dative, or sign of "direction towards," in

किहि काज रिषि आयौ घरहि॥

"For what cause, Rishi, hast thou come *to the house?*"

—Pr. R. i. 45.

And as an ablative in

को किहि वंसहि ऊपज्यौ॥

"Who (am I) *from* what race sprung."—*ib.* i. 167.

Tulsi Das has numerous examples, as सीताहि देखि कही "Having seen Sita speak (to her);" इनकी कथा संक्षेपहि कहौं

"tells the story of them *in* brief" (संखेप); आदिहि ते सब कथा सुनाई "having told all that tale *from* the beginning."

Now it will be observed that in the general fusion of forms the only two types that remain are the instrumental in *ena*, which is not changed as far as the data for classical Prakrit go, and the ablative-genitive-locative-dative in *âhi*; but by the simple process of the elision of the ह, we get *âï*, which naturally slides into *e*. The transition is well shown in the scraps of the later Apabhranśa dialect preserved in old Gujarati, thus—

अट्ठोतर सु बुद्दडी रावणतणइ कपालि ॥
एकू बुद्धि न सांपडी लंका भंजण काली

"A hundred and eight (kinds of) knowledge were in the head of Râvan,
Not one knowledge profited him at the time of the destruction of Lankâ."[1]

Here रावणतणइ is the genitive formed by adding to the noun the termination Skr. तन (Pr. तण), by which the noun is changed into an adjective, and agrees with the governing noun in number, gender, and case. कपालि (for कपाले) being in the locative, the termination of the adjectival genitive must be in the oblique form to agree with it, and तणइ is therefore used, in which *aï* shows as the shortened form from *âhi*. At a later stage of the language this is written तणे.

The instrumental retains its form of *ena* in Chand only in Gâthâ passages; but even in them, for the sake of his metre, he often rejects the *na*, leaving only the *e*, and this again he sometimes modulates into *aya*.

From the above considerations it results that the distinctive features of the case-endings in Sanskrit all, in course of time, melted down into one form distinguished by the ending *âhi*, *âï*, or *e*. We thus account for the fact that in Hindi and Panjabi

[1] "Gujarâti bhâshâno itihas," p. 44, quoted from a poem called Munjarâsa, the date of which is not given.

the oxytone noun in *â* forms its base in *e*, as *ghoṛâ*, *ghoṛe*. The same takes place with Sindhi nouns in *o*, which correspond to Hindi oxytones in *â*, as मथो "head," मथे. Hindi and Panjabi have only this one method of forming the oblique, and, as I have stated before, only employ it in oxytone nouns ending in *â*. All other nouns virtually end in a consonant, and are not therefore open to any change; they have rejected all inflection absolutely. In mediæval Hindi, words of this class use the form हि, with no connecting vowel, as रामहि "to Râm," and when, in process of time, this affix was dropped, there remained nothing but the bare stem, incapable of inflection. Even in those nouns which, strictly speaking, end in other vowels than *a*, the same rule is followed, because these languages take no heed of final vowels, and in speaking, at least, reject them always; and even in writing they are of little value.

It is in the languages of the western group—as might be expected—that the greatest diversity exists, and to them we must now turn. Sindhi takes for the general type of its singular oblique the vowel *a*, for which Trumpp hints at a derivation from the genitive; but we have pointed out that, before the period of the rise of the modern languages as such, the Apabhranśa Prakrit had already nearly obliterated all distinction between the genitive and other oblique cases, bringing them all down to the common form *âhi*. If this be the case in the written Apabhranśa,—which, though wandering far from the central type of Prakrit, must still, as a written language, be supposed to have retained greater regularity than the spoken language,—we are justified in supposing that, in the spoken, a still more complete fusion of all the case-endings must have taken place; and it is not likely that a rude pastoral race would carefully observe such minute distinctions as that between *âhi*, *âhe*, *âho*, and *âhiṇ*. Moreover, we notice that even in the written language, in one case at least, the final short vowel had been rejected, so that the ablative ends in *âh* or *â*. Sindhi is

very prone to the shortening of vowels. Thus it would be quite in harmony with the general practice of the language, to preserve out of all these endings nothing more than short *a*. In masculine nouns ending in *u*, we have really the consonantal ending of barytones of the *a*-stem, and it is therefore only what we should expect to find that the oblique of this class should reject the *u*, which is hardly audible in pronunciation, and conclude with *a*. Thus दासु "slave," obl. दास, may be traced back to a Prakrit form *nom.* दासो दासु, *obl.* दासाहि, दासाहे, दासाहो, दासाहिं, all of which in the spoken language would fuse into दासहि, as in Hindi, and thence into दासह, and finally दास. The reason why nouns in *o* form their oblique in *e* after the Hindi fashion, appears to confirm the view I have taken of the origin of these nouns. When they owe their long final vowel to the fact of their being derived from Skr. oxytones, the presence of the accent on the final syllable prevents the terminations *âhi*, *âhe*, etc., from shortening their *â* into *a*; all that takes place therefore is the rejection of ह, and the termination thus becomes *âi*, which by a natural process becomes *e*. Sindhi nouns in short *a* and *i* do not differ in their oblique from the nom. This is a further confirmation of the view expressed above. The Prakrit oblique of such nouns would end in *ihi*, *ahi*; but the *i* and *a* belong to the stem, not to the termination; and when the *hi* is rejected, there remains nothing, so that the oblique cannot undergo any change. Nouns in long *î* and *û* add an *a* to the stem, which is again a relic of the common form *ahi* deprived of its final *hi*. Long before the epoch of the formation of these modern cases, the Prakrit had disencumbered itself of the habit of making an euphonic combination between the final vowel of the stem and the initial vowel of the termination; thus the long *i* and *û* hold their place, unchanged by any commotions which might vex the termination.

In Gujarati the only change that occurs is in the oxytone nouns in *o*, which make an obl. in *â*. I have often before

mentioned that Gujarati strikes the student as an archaic dialect of Hindi, whose development has been arrested by its isolation; and it would be consonant with this view to regard the oblique form in *á* as derived from the full Prakrit *áhi*, by simple rejection of the final *hi*—a process which we have shown to be followed by the other languages. Beyond this there is no further change for the oblique in Gujarati; the termination in *e* belongs to the instrumental, which will be explained hereafter.

Marathi remains to be discussed; lumbering along as usual with its old-world Prakrit baggage of terminations, it offers many troublesome problems to the inquirer. In nouns with a consonantal ending it lengthens the mute *a* into *á*: as *báp*, obl. *bápá*; *ghar*, obl. *gharâ*. In Old-Marathi the nominative of nouns of this class, like the corresponding class in Sindhi still, and Hindi and the rest in former times, ended in *u*, the Prakrit barytone *o*. Thus we have ईश्वरु, कहु, नन्दनु, and the like. The Marathi consequently did not consider words of this class as ending in a consonant, nor does it now; technically these words still end in short *a*. Not having, like the Hindi, rejected this final vowel, and with it all power of modifying the termination, it has been able to retain the oblique form in *á* from *áhi*, merely rejecting the *hi*, as in the others. This it has been able to do in barytones, whereas the others only preserve this ending, softened to *e*, in oxytones. Similarly in a certain class ending in long *á*, it exhibits the oblique in *á*; but in this case it may be equally correct to regard the *á* as merely a retention of the form of the nom.; and this is rendered more probable by the parallel case of nouns in *i* and *ú*, which also, as shown in the table, have no separate form for the oblique. The nouns in long vowels would be unable to form a separate oblique, because the oblique of the Prakrit would merely differ from the nom. by the addition of *hi*, as *áhi*, *ihi*, *úhi*; so that when the *hi* came to be rejected, there would remain nothing. Marathi differs from Sindhi and all

the other languages in being still bothered with notions of *sandhi*, and still hardens the final vowel of a stem before a termination beginning with a vowel. Thus in a class of nouns ending in *â*, *î* and *û*, it hardens the vowel before the universal *âhi* of the oblique, making from *bhâû*, *bhâvâ* and the like. In masculines and neuters of this class, the Prakrit masc. form *âhi* has been used, leaving *â*: thus they say, *bhâvâlâ* "to a brother," which is *bhâv-â(hi)-lâ*; but in the fem. the Prakrit fem. is used. In these words so early as the Maharàshtri Prakrit, the fusion of cases had taken place. Thus in the feminines *mâlâ*, *devî*, *bahû*, we find only the following narrow range of endings:

माला "garland,"	acc.	मालं,	abl.	मालाहि,	Instr.	Gen.	Loc.	मालाए.
देवी "goddess,"	„	देविं	„	देवीहि	„	„	„	देवीए.
वहू "wife,"	„	वहुं	„	वहूहि	„	„	„	वहूए.

The abl. differs very slightly in sound from the other oblique case, because *e* is short in Prakrit, and consequently to the vulgar ear the general type for the fem. oblique would be *e*. Thence it would result that in the words सासू, स्त्री, after the final vowel had recrudesced into its semivowel, the form of the oblique to be added would not be *â*, as in the masc., but *e*, and we therefore find *sâsavelâ*, *striyelâ*, which are *sâsav-e-lâ*, *striy--e-lâ*. In this case the Marathi is more sensitive than the Prakrit, for it does not permit the hiatus where the other does. The principle of changing the final vowel into its semivowel having been once introduced, has been ignorantly extended—through the influence of that blind groping after analogies which has been so fertile a cause of change in many languages—to nouns ending in *â*; and as these have no semivowel of their own, the most frequently used of the two semivowels, य, has been applied to them, so that we get an oblique *sâsaryâ* from a nom. *sâsarâ*. It is precisely on the same principle that the weak declension of nouns and the weak conjugation of verbs have gained so largely, and are still gaining, both in English and

German, on the old strong forms. The sixth declension in Marathi, namely that which we are now considering, is one of the weak declensions in fact, and as such has gained ground on the strong declensions. Another weak declension is that which comprises masculines and neuters in ऊ and ऊं, which lose their final vowel and form their oblique as though their nom. had ended in mute *a*, or in former times in *u*. Thus *vâṭsarû* makes its oblique neither *vâṭsarú* nor *vâṭsaravâ*, but *vâṭsarâ*, where the final vowel of the nom. has been ignored, and the masc. oblique sign *â* has been added to a stem *vâṭsar*. On analyzing the words which fall under this class, it becomes apparent that in most cases the final *û* or *ûṇ* is a modern invention, and not organic. They are, first, words compounded with the Skr. कर् and सर्, in which the final *u* is short, and might thus easily be confounded in Old-Marathi with barytones of the *a*-stem like ईश्वर, so that they formed their oblique in *â*, and the lengthening of the final vowel of the nom. is only another instance of the fondness of Marathi for final long syllables: secondly, they are neuters ending in the diminutive syllables डूं and रूं, which, as I have shown in § 24, are in the other languages डा or डो, and रा or रो, respectively, and thus come under the head of oxytones of the *a*-stem, and the oblique would regularly be *â*. There is, however, very great irregularity and confusion on this subject, the language not having made up its mind as to which of the three forms available it will use.

Nouns ending in short *a*, corrupted from feminines in Skr. in *â*, of which the type is जिह्वा, M. जीभ, form their oblique by adding *e*, as जीभे. This is the same rule as that followed in feminines in long *i* and *ú*, and the *e* is the regular Prakrit oblique. Thus the Pr. obl. would be मालाए; but in this case, as the Marathi has lost the long *â*, it merely adds the *e* to the final consonant. This it does also in Tatsamas which retain the long *â*; thus माता makes माते. Here I smell the Pandits. I suspect that the nom. had become मात, as in Hindi, in which case the

form माते for मातए would be regular, just as जीभे for जीभए; but the Pandits have subsequently restored the long *â*. It is no answer to this to say that माता is found in the earliest writings in the language, because, in the first place, the writings are no guide to what the speech of those days really was; no Indian writer could ever resist the temptation to use grander and more Sanskritic words than occurred in the spoken language; the attractions of the so-called *sâdhu bhâshâ* have always been irresistible; and, secondly, the formation of the oblique form took place long before the earliest writings that we have; and it is therefore quite possible that when the oblique in *e* was formed, the nominative in current use was मात.

There is, as before stated, also another method of forming the oblique in use among the nouns of this class, namely that in *î*, which arises from the fact of their being derived from nouns which in Skr. ended in *i*, or *î*. In masculines of this class the oblique Prakrit is in *ihi*, in feminines it is in *îe*, both of which have left in Marathi only *î*. Examples of this class are the following:

	PR. NOM.	PR. OBL.	M. NOM.	M. OBL.
Skr. अग्नि "fire,"	अग्गि,	अग्गीहि,	आग,	आगी.
Skr. कुक्षि "belly,"	कुच्छि,	कुच्छीहि,	कूस,	कूसी.
Skr. मुष्टि "fist,"	मुट्ठि,	मुट्ठीहि,	मूठ,	मूठी.
Skr. गोष्ठी "assembly,"	गोट्ठी,	गोट्ठीए,	गोष्ट,	गोष्टी.

This last word is almost a Tatsama; it would be completely so had it not lost the final *î* in the nominative; it is used in the sense of "talk, gossip, conversation," also of "an affair, case, business."

§ 47. We now come to the oblique forms of the plural, which are in all respects simpler and more uniform than those of the singular. Hindi has but one form for all classes of nouns, namely ओं, which must, I think, be distinctly referred to the genitive of the older languages. Sanskrit forms the genitive of the *a*-stem in आनां for all three genders; the nom. and acc.

plural of the neuter end also in *âni*, which I have shown to be the origin of the nom. pl. in Hindi. The similarity of the genitive ending to that of the nom. has perhaps led to its preservation for the oblique cases, as in the period when the old inflectional case-endings had died out, and the use of the modern particles had hardly become fixed, there would be no distinction between the different cases of the plural; and Chand accordingly, as pointed out previously, uses such forms as उरान, दृश्यान, both for nom. and obl. plural. In his Gâthâ passages, where he employs archaic constructions, we find a genitive in आनं, as in

महिलानं मद् सद् नूपरया ॥

"The sweet sound (made) by the anklets *of women*."—Pr. R. i. 17.

(मद् = मधुर, सद् = शब्द, नूपरया = नूपुरया instrumental of a fem. form °रा.)

Prakrit, in the principal dialect, makes its genitive in आणं, and extends this form to all classes of nouns, totally rejecting the Skr. genitive in *âṃ* used in so many bases. In fact the terminations of the *a*-stem have, as a rule, completely overridden and supplanted all the others. Hindi has rejected the final anuswâra of the Pr. and turned the *n* into anuswâra, and this rejection and softening are the probable causes of the present form in ओं, the long vowel *o* having its origin in an effort to compensate for the loss of the *n*. Panjabi, which is not so sensitive, retains simply आं for the oblique plural. There seems to be no room for doubt that the Pr. genitive is the origin of these forms, because the other cases have a different type altogether. Thus the Maharashtri has instr. in *ehi* or *ehiṃ*, abl. in *suṃto* or *hiṃto*, loc. in *esu*, *esuṃ*; and though the Aprabhaṅśa has a different range of endings, yet they do not, on the one hand, approach the Skr. genitive, nor afford, on the other hand, materials for the construction of the Hindi oblique pl., the long *o* of which is in my opinion to be accounted for by a still further lengthening of long *á*, a letter which occurs only in the

genitive. That the Hindi form is comparatively modern is shown by the fact of its not occurring in any of the middle-age poets, in whose writings the form in अनि, अन, or अन्ह, is used for the oblique as well as for the nom. This is why I referred at the beginning of this section to the similarity between the nom. neuter in *âni* and the gen. of all three genders in *ânâm*. I believe that this similarity is the cause why no separate form for the oblique was struck out for so many centuries. It is a further confirmation of this view, that Gujarati, with its arrested development, has no oblique form for the plural, nor have Bengali and Oṛiya, both of which languages must have separated themselves from the central Hindi type certainly earlier than A.D. 1400, as we find Bidyâpati in A.D. 1433 in full possession of a distinct set of forms. The Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi also does not possess the form in ओं, but makes its oblique plural still in अन, as लोगन का, etc.; so also the Marwari dialect, which uses only आं, which, like the Panjabi form, is the legitimate descendant of Chand's plural in आन.

By the aid of this view the terminations in use in Sindhi are also explainable. The Apabhraṅśa dialect, which is more especially connected with Sindhi, has fused all its plural endings into a small range of forms, as instr. *ehiṇ*, *âhiṇ*, *îhiṇ*, *ûhiṇ*, abl. *ahuṇ*, gen. *ahaṇ*, nom. and acc. *âu*. Only the loc. retains a distinct shape *âsu*; and even in this, when we remember the facility with which Sindhi changes स into ह, it becomes probable that a form *âhu* would not be long in making its appearance. Later Apabhraṅśa genitive forms in *iheṇ*, *uheṇ*, are also found; so that we really get as materials for the Sindhi oblique little more than one form with trifling variations. The oldest and fullest form of the oblique in this language ends in नि preceded in each class of nouns by the final vowel of the stem. Here we have the न or ण of the Skr. forms आनि and आनां, Pr. आणि and आणं, fused together. The other forms आं, एं, are readily deduced from the Apabhraṅśa forms हं and हिं,

the vowel preceding which is merely a variant derived from the final vowel of the stem.

Precisely similar are the Marathi forms, which are strictly analogous to the singular oblique forms of each class, only differing by the insertion of anuswâra, which evidently points back to the ण of the Pr. gen., and preceded in each instance by the phonetic peculiarities which mark the singular.

On the whole, then, we conclude that in both singular and plural the terminations of the oblique descend from a general form produced by the fusion of all the oblique cases of Sanskrit; but there is this difference between the two numbers, that whereas in the singular no one case has retained its individual existence, or impressed its own special type upon the modern nouns, in the plural the genitive, by virtue of a special strength of type, and by its similarity to the neuter nom., which had usurped the place of the other nominatives, has preserved its individuality, and in a great majority of classes absorbed into itself the other cases. It might also, however, be said that to a certain extent, even in the singular, the genitive has had the preponderance, as the form in हि, although its earliest appearance in Prakrit is in the capacity of an ablative, is yet more easily derivable from the Skr. gen. in अस्य than from any other classical form. Thus, although the universal written Prakrit termination is अस्स, yet it is phonetically more natural that a form असि should have arisen, which—by the operation of the tendency to change स into ह, a tendency which certainly exists in all the languages, though more extensively in the western members of the group—would become अहि. It must be noted, also, that the change took place at a time when these western members were most powerful—Eastern Hindi, Bengali, and Oriya, not having then arisen. The period of the origin of these forms cannot be put later than the seventh century, when the decay of Buddhism brought about those great linguistic changes which laid the foundation of the modern languages; and at that

epoch the eastern parts of India were, as far as we know, comparatively sparsely peopled by men of Aryan race. A phonetic change, therefore, of the character we are now discussing, would naturally be in accordance with the tendencies and peculiarities of the western tribes who then constituted the immense majority of the Aryans.

§ 48. The forms of the oblique are not, however, the only traces which still survive of the old Sanskrit inflections. Simplest of all of these, the locative, which ended in **ए**, has held its own down to the present day in many languages. In the Oṛiya poems this locative exists, as **पुरे** "in the village," **गोपे** "in Gop," though it has now been superseded by the analytical locative formed by **रे**, and modern Oṛiya uses **गोप रे** or **गोप ठारि**; in the latter of these **ठा** = **स्थान**.

In Bengali it still survives, as in **क्रोधे** "in anger," **भये** "in fear," **रथे** "in a chariot." Here also, as in Oṛiya, the tendency to an analytical construction led at an early date to the addition of the particle **ते**, so that in Kaśi Dâs's Mahabharat forms **भये ते**, **रथे ते**, occur, although pleonastic, and often more with the sense of an ablative. After nouns ending in long *â*, this ending takes phonetically the form of **य**, as **घोडाय** "in a horse;" but after nouns in other vowels, the modern termination **ते** is more usual.

Hindi does not know this locative form: having adopted *e* as the oblique ending for the only class of nouns in which it admits a separate oblique form, there was no room in its system for the special locative. Gujarati regularly retains it in all cases, with complete disregard of phonetic combinations, so that it is added to nouns ending in a vowel quite as freely as to those which end in a consonant. Thus we have **रूढीए** "in a custom," **तम्बुए** "in a tent;" but in nouns of the masc. *o*-class, in which the oblique differs from the nom., the change of termination is possible, and they consequently write **दाहाडे** "in a day." So

also in the plural, which universally terminates in *o*, the *e* of the locative is added, giving *oë*, no account being taken of the fact that the locative of the plural in Sanskrit ends in एषु. This is the way with the modern languages. Having got into their heads the idea that a certain termination is typical of a certain case, they stick it on to their nouns all round, overriding the more intricate distinctions of the older languages, and thus gaining in simplicity and regularity.

Marathi has a locative in ईं, universally employed in the older poets, but now going by degrees out of use. The form is the same for both singular and plural, and appears to have arisen from the Pr. locative in अम्हि, which in Bhagavatî appears as अंमि, or as Weber reads it अंसि. The later form was probably अंहि, which, by rejection of the *a*, is, strictly speaking, a portion of the stem, and throwing forward the anuswâra, becomes हिं. Marathi has by degrees got rid of the ह, as in the similarly constructed forms of the oblique, and the lengthening of the final vowel is the usual Marathi custom. It agrees in practice with Gujarati, in using the singular form for the plural also. This may be pointed out as another instance of the preference of the Prakrits and modern languages for the older or pronominal declension, as this termination comes ultimately from forms like सर्वस्मिन्.[1]

Panjabi resembles Marathi in having a locative in ईं, which, however, is not restricted to the plural, and is not of very general use: thus, घरीं "in houses," हथीं "in hands." In the singular, a locative in ओं is occasionally found, as घरों; but this is more strictly an ablative, and I suspect we have here, not a relic of a synthetical case, but an abraded particle, as will be explained in another place.

[1] The corrupt Konkani of Goa uses a locative in इ, as तडि "on the bank," from तड, Skr. तट, where classical M. would have तडीं. (Burnell's Specimens of S. Indian Dialects, Mangalore, 1872.) This is probably only a shortening of the Skr. locative in ए.

In Sindhi there is a locative, but only in nouns of the *u*-class (=mute *a*). It ends in *i*, shortened probably from the Skr. *e*, as in देशे, and not, as Trumpp writes, identical with the locative termination *i*, because this latter is not used in the declension of nouns of the *a*-stem, from which the Sindhi *u*-stems descend. Moreover, the declensional forms of the *a*-stem have to so great an extent swallowed up those of all the other stems, that we are hardly justified in looking to any forms but those of the *a*-stem, unless it be the old pronominal forms of words like सर्व.

Besides the locative, several of the languages have also a relic of the old synthetical instrumental. This case in Skr. ended in the *a*-stem in *ena*; and Marathi retains this form shortened into एं, as शस्त्रें "by a weapon," घरें "by a house." Inasmuch, however, as this termination is identical with that of the nom. pl. of neuter nouns, it has become customary to use a pleonastic construction by the addition of one of the modern particles करून "by means of," so that they would now write शस्त्रें करून "by means of a weapon." Here, in consequence of the backwardness of Marathi, we are enabled to see in force a process which has occurred in the other languages also at a former time, namely, the gradual wearing away of the synthetical case-ending, and the consequent necessity for employing a particle to bring out the meaning more clearly.

Old-Bengali possessed also an instrumental ending in *e*, probably arising from the rejection of the *na* of *ena*. This ending being identical with that of the locative, was abandoned by degrees in favour of an analytical construction with particles, though it is even now occasionally used in colloquial language. Instances from Bidyâpati, the oldest Bengal poet (born A.D. 1433, died 1485), are as follows: जो प्रेमे कुलवति कुलटा होइ "that a virtuous woman becomes unchaste through love."—*Padakalpataru*, 980. मने किछु ना गनलु ओ रसे भोल "in my mind I nothing counted, being foolish through that love."—*Pad.* 982. काजरे सजल मदन धनु "love has adorned his bow with lamp-black."

—*Pad.* 80. निज नवदले करि आसन दान "having made itself a seat by means of its own new leaves."—*Pad.* 1450. Kabi Kankan (A.D. 1544) also uses this case frequently, as बाहिरेते हेंठ माता सबे करे लाजे "from without all hung down their heads through shame."—*Chandi*, 149.[1] In the same way it is used in many later poets, so that the existence of the form is well established, though it has been banished from the modern literary style.

Gujarati retains this form of the instrumental in ordinary use, though it, like M. and B., has felt it necessary to have recourse to separate particles to define the meaning more fully. In this latter case, it is, as usual, pleonastic, having, besides the simple form देवे "by a god," also the forms देवे करीने and देवे थी, as well as देव थी. With its usual disregard of the hiatus, Gujarati adds this *e* to the final vowel of nouns ending in *i* and *u*, also to the plural in *o*, as shown by the examples given in § 41. No traces of a separate instrumental remain in H. or P., though Chand in Gâthâ passages uses the Skr. forms, as stated above.

Sindhi is the only language which possesses a synthetic ablative, as डेझ "country," abl. डेहां, with variant forms डेहीं, डेहं, डेहाउ; डेहँउं. All these clearly proceed from the Sanskrit abl. in आत्, as देशात्, which in Pr. becomes first आदो or आदु, then आउ, and in Apabhraṅśa also आझ. The variant forms merely testify to the unsettled state of this rude language, in which, from lack of literary cultivation, dialectic forms abound. It would seem that while the most correct form is डेहाउ, the most used is डेहां, and the anunâsika appears to be nothing more than a modern inorganic addition, such as Sindhi is fond of. The first of the two nasals in डेहँउं is also anunâsika, and is merely the Sindhi method of softening a hiatus. Inasmuch as this form is purely synthetic, and not a mere case-particle, it naturally takes the place of the final vowel of the nom.; if it were a case-particle, it would not do so, but would simply be

[1] This is the page of the Calcutta ed. by Gopal Chandra Chakravarti, 1278, B.Ś. (1871).

appended to the oblique form. The form of the nom. represents the nom. of Prakrit and Sanskrit. Thus नरु is the modern form of Skr. नरस्; the Sindhi abl. नरां or नराउ represents on the other hand Skr. नरात्, and has never had anything to do with the nom. नरु. It is, therefore, not a correct way of putting it to say that the final vowel of the nominative is changed or dropped before this ending; on the contrary, it should be said that this case is derived direct from the corresponding case of the older language. In nouns which end in ई, ईं, ऊ, ऊं, the ablative case results from the custom already adverted to, of using the case-endings of the Skr. *a*-stem for nouns of all classes. In Sanskrit, while नरस् formed its abl. नरात्, नदी made, not नदीयात्, but नद्याः, वधू made its abl. वध्वाः; but all this was too complicated for the rustic folk. By far the larger number of the nouns in their language were of the type नरस्, and the minority were soon made to follow that type too. So it came to pass that in Apabhranśa the common abl. ended in *hu* or *he*, with the final vowel of the stem preceding it, as नराहु, नदीहु, or नदीहे, वहूहे, or °हु. Sindhi goes a step further than this. It knows only one form, आहु; and this it simply sticks on to the stem, merely shortening the final vowel by the weight of the termination; thus, नोडी "rope," abl. नोडिआं; मिरू "wild beast," मिरुआं. Thus that which was a bonâ-fide synthetical case in nouns of the *a*-stem, becomes almost a separate case-affix or particle in other nouns. This is, in my opinion, not an isolated instance of this process. If my method of interpretation be correct, there are, as we shall see when we come to the case-particles, several other instances of bonâ-fide synthetical case-endings having been broken off from the stem and used as particles. In the plural, this ending has come to be regarded quite as a particle, and is appended to the oblique form of the noun, as घरनिआं "from houses," which is the obl. घरनि+आं. It is easily seen that this ending has no business at all in the plural, as it represents distinctly the Skr. singular

form आत्; but so strong is the tendency to extend the use of one good simple form to all possible cases and classes, that no hesitation was felt in tacking the case-sign of an ablative singular on to a form derived from a genitive plural, in order to compose an ablative plural!

§ 49. In striking contrast to the wide range of synthetical forms observable in Marathi and the western languages, stands out the naked simplicity of the Bengali and Oṛiya, which have scarcely any variations of the stem. With the exception of the now almost obsolete form in *e*, which did duty at once for instrumental, locative in the singular, and nominative in the plural, Oṛiya has no modifications of any kind; and Bengali has but one, the nom. plural in *erâ* or *râ*. The question then arises, what is the reason of this difference? Why should two members of the group have so thoroughly emancipated themselves from the trammels of the old system, while the others are still so tightly bound up in them? The question seems to be parallel to that of the difference between English and German, the former of which has altogether rejected, while the latter has very largely retained, a synthetical type. In the case of English, whose development lies open before us, we can see the influence of the Norman race,—a race kindred in blood, and originally kindred in speech, to the subjects of Harold whom they conquered, but who had been put through a preliminary training by a long sojourn in France, as though purposely to fit them for the task of raising our rough English fathers to their present high position in the world. To the manly vigour of the old Norse pirate, the descendants of Rolf had added the grace and polish of the vivacious Frenchman. With that teachableness which was so pre-eminently their characteristic, they had sucked in all the sweetness and light which Europe then had to give. They came amongst us as a leaven of cultivation, and they made us what we are. On our language they worked a mighty

change; and it is to this that I would especially draw attention. They taught us by degrees to throw away all terminations as useless, retaining only a very few which were absolutely necessary. Under their guidance, the language softened and simplified itself amazingly. Gender was the first thing to go, artificial gender especially; even natural gender remained only in a few objects, and those indicated by uniform and regular methods. The numerous systems of forming the plural all fused into the addition of *-es* or *-s* to the singular, and the case-endings disappeared, till at last our language stood forth clear and active like a trained athlete with his loins girt for the running.[1]

It is something of this sort of influence that we should be disposed to seek for in Bengali and Oriya, and the difficulty of the inquiry is that we cannot find it. We may, however, guess at it, and there are scintillations afforded us out of the gloom of Indian history which confirm our guesses, till at some points they almost touch on certainty. The first of these is the fact, now almost beyond a doubt, of the very modern character of Bengali. The earliest writers in that language, the Vaishnava poets, use a language so much akin to Bhojpuri and the dialects spoken in the eastern parts of the area occupied by the Hindi dialects, as to force on us the conclusion that the Bengali itself is nothing more than a dialect of Eastern Hindi. It is not till the beginning of the sixteenth century that we come to anything sufficiently marked to deserve the name of a separate language. Now long before that time, we know that Hindi had cast aside the greater portion of its synthetic machinery. The only relic of the modifications of the stem consists of the *e* of the oblique of *á*-stems, as in बेटा, obl. बेटे. But it has before been noticed that down to a late period this form was not fixed, and the oblique ended vaguely in *ahi*. After *â*-stems this would naturally take the form *âhi*; and the rejection of the *hi*, which

[1] See on this subject Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, vol. i. pp. 691, 709 (first ed.), and Rapp, Comp. Gram. Verbal-Organismus, vol. iii. p. 163.

we have seen was a common process in all the languages, would leave an oblique base in *â* for the *â*-stems, and in *a* (mute) for the *a*-stems; or, in other words, there would be no difference between the nominative and oblique. Further, it must be remembered that Bengali descends from the peasant language of Bihar, in which, as I know from long residence in those parts, it is not customary to form the oblique of the *â*-stem in *e*, as it is in classical Hindi. The rustic of those regions will say *ghoṛâ ko* instead of *ghoṛe ko*. The classical Hindi is not based on the speech of the eastern area, but on that of the western, and especially of the regions round about Delhi and Agra. It is not surprising therefore that Bengali, an offshoot of the rustic dialect of the eastern area, should be ignorant of this peculiar custom. The crude form in हि is very common in the Vaishnava poets, as *ânahi* "to another" (*anya*), *premahi* "in love," *karahi* "in hand," and the like. Perhaps the rejection, so universally occurring, of the *hi*, arose from its being confounded with the common particle हि "indeed," and so being regarded as a mere emphatic addition easily rejected without altering the sense. If Bengali had attained an independent existence as a separate language at the early period when the other languages were passing through the stage of transition from synthesis to analysis, it would probably have struck out a course of action for itself. During all that period, however, Bengal was but thinly peopled, and its language was identical with Hindi, and it therefore partook of the changes which went on in that language. Its independent existence dates from a time when the sentiment of the necessity for indicating various relations of the noun by modifications in the terminal syllable had entirely passed away, and it does not therefore partake of any such changes. This modernness of Bengali must always be kept in mind in considering its present structure, because in recent times the language has been so overlaid with words borrowed from Sanskrit, in their Tatsama shape, that scholars

unacquainted with historical facts have been led to regard it as that member of the Aryan group which most closely approaches to the old classical speech, and to give it the position which is held by Italian in the Romance group. It is time that this misunderstanding should be removed. If we strip Bengali of all the Sanskrit words which have been brought into it during the last fifty years, and examine minutely its grammatical forms, and the true peasant vocabulary, we shall find that it is more removed from Sanskrit than any of its sisters, and it will stand out in its true light as a coarse rustic dialect destitute of refinement and precision.

With regard to Oṛiya, the same remarks hold good. We know from history that the Oṛiya race did not enter Orissa from the north, through Bengal, but from the west, across the mountains which separate it from the southern limits of Bihar. Many of the words of the language have the Bihar type of Hindi, and resemble Bengali only in those respects in which Bengali itself resembles Hindi. If we place the immigration of the greater part of the present Aryan element into Orissa at the beginning of the tenth century A.D., on the decay of Buddhism, it will result that the language which they brought with them from the valley of the Ganges must have been already to a great extent analytical; and their subsequent long isolation will account for the retention of forms which the onward march of the parent Hindi has long ago discarded.

In both these languages there is also great reason to suspect non-Aryan influence. Recent inquiries into the component elements of the Hindu population in both provinces lead to the conclusion that a large portion is still, and has always been, non-Aryan. In fact, it would not be going too far to describe the inhabitants of Bengal and Orissa as aboriginal non-Aryans converted to Hinduism by, and mixed up with, an immigrant element of Gangetic Aryans, whose language, religion, and physical type they have, notwithstanding their political in-

feriority, largely and deeply influenced. When the scholar whose non-Aryan dictionary has led us to expect a non-Aryan grammar from his pen, shall have given to the world the result of his labours, we shall be in a position to measure the extent to which the wild hill tribes and rude fishermen of the coast have reacted upon their invaders. At present we are not able to do more than hint at the existence of such influence; we can point out neither its direction nor extent.

§ 50. Marathi possesses a process peculiar to itself as far as the seven languages which we are working at are concerned, but which is also apparent in some of the cognate dialects which it has been necessary to exclude from the present inquiry, as Kashmiri and Pashto. In our seven languages the changes which take place in the stem are confined to the termination, but in Marathi a class of words exists in which internal modification is found. These are principally feminines in ईण, formed from masculines in ई, examples of which have been given in § 35. These words either reject the long *i* altogether in the oblique, or retain it shortened to *i*, or change it to its semi-vowel य. Thus, Skr. भाविनी, M. भावीण "a female devotee," obl. भाविणी, where the *i* is shortened according to Molesworth; or भावणी, where it is changed to *a* according to Stevenson; and in either case the oblique termination in *i* is added, as in nouns of the form आग, obl. आगी. In cases like this it would probably be more logical to say that the noun retains its correct form in the oblique, while in the nom. it is lengthened in accordance with Marathi custom.

There is a large class of these words, and many others not derived from इनी are treated in the same way without regard to their gender; thus,

उंदीर (*m.*) "rat,"	obl. उंदिरा, उंदरा, and even उंद्रा.
कणीक (*f.*) "flour,"	„ कणके, sometimes कणकी.
कणीस (*n.*) "ear of corn,"	„ कणसा.

The Sanskrit originals of these words are उंद्रु or उंद्र, कणक or कणिक, and कणिशु respectively, so that the oblique represents the older form more accurately than the nominative does. The practice has even been extended to words of Persian origin, so deeply seated in the popular mind is the principle of analogy. Thus,

خوگیر "a pack-saddle."	M. खोगीर, obl. खोगरा.
تعظیم "reverence."	M. ताजीम „ ताजमे and °मी.
لیزم "a chain-bow."	M. लेजीम „ लेजमी.

Similarly, in a large number of nouns of all three genders, a long *ú* in the final syllable is changed to *a*; as,

Skr. अङ्कुर "sprout."	M. अंकूर, obl. अंकरा.
युक्ति "arrangement."	M. जुगूत "trick," obl. जुगती.
मक्षिका "fly."	M. मासूक, obl. मासका.

In all these words, and they are tolerably numerous, there is no authority in the derivation for the long *ú*; and the form of the oblique, in consequence, is due to the slightness of the difference in the vulgar pronunciation between the three short vowels. The above process, it must be explained, is only applicable to words where the vowel is preceded by a consonant; when it is preceded by another vowel, phonetic considerations induce a different process. ई becomes hardened to य, and ऊ to व, in such cases, at least in the Konkani dialect. In the Dakhini it is more usual to shorten the vowel, as बाईल "woman," obl. Konkani बायले, Dakhini बाइले. Thus Tuka says,

तुका म्हणे येती बाइले असडे। फुंदोनियां रडे हांसे कांहीं ॥

"Quoth Tuka, thus the good wife breaks out, sobbing she weeps and at times laughs."—Abhanga, 567, 3.

And of words in ऊ, देऊळ "temple," obl. Konk. देवळा, Dakh. देउळा; as again from Tukaram—

गाय देउळीं देवापासीं

"Sings in the temple before the god."—Abh. 569, 3.

Of the two forms, the Dakhini, which merely shortens the vowel, is the older and more natural; the Konkani agrees with what I have called above the weak declension of Marathi, which bears evident signs of being comparatively modern. It is, perhaps, a sign of the increased tendency to Sanskritize, that the old hiatus, which neither Prakrit nor any of the moderns objected to, should have begun to be replaced by the semivowel.

§ 51. In noticing the peculiar ablative of Sindhi, I said that it was not an isolated instance of an inflectional case-ending having been detached and used as a case-particle. The other instances of the same process must now be exhibited, as holding a middle place between purely synthetical terminations, such as those of the locative and instrumental of Gujarati, Sindhi, and other languages, and purely analytical methods of indicating cases, such as the particles का, के, की, and the like. They owe their existence to the tendency, arising out of the general confusion and abrasion of case-endings, towards adopting for all cases one good strong form of the older language. It is the Darwinian principle of the "survival of the fittest," noticed in regard to the phonesis of the group at p. 27 of Vol. I., and by virtue of which the strong forms of the neuter nom. pl., and the common gen. pl. आनि and आनां, have usurped all the cases of all three genders of the plural in Hindi and Panjabi. In the Sindhi ablative the form आउ or आं is purely synthetical for the *u*-stem, but it has, strictly speaking, no business with any other stem; yet it has been applied to all stems indifferently. Consequently, in all but the *u*- and *o*-stems, which descend from the Skr. *a*-stem, it is no longer a relic of the purely synthetical system, but has half migrated into a case-particle. On the other hand, it cannot be classed with case-particles, as *kâ, ke, ki*, because these latter are modern formations, not derivable from any case-ending of Skr. or Prakrit, but independent words fused down into particles. I would therefore put these forms into a separate class,

and call them quasi-synthetical forms; synthetical they are by origin, being derived from Skr. or Pr. case-endings; but they are not so in the manner of their employment, being used frequently in places where neither Skr. nor Pr. would use them, and sometimes even quite detached from the noun, and used with the oblique stem, which itself contains all that is left of the synthetical case-ending.

The first of these forms to be noticed is the Marathi ablative sign हून्, which is now used as a case-particle, and appended to the oblique stem, as sing. घराहून, pl. घरांहून; it is sometimes contracted still further into ऊन, and combined with the nom. form, as घरून. Lassen has long ago identified this form with the Prakrit ablative plural, which has two forms, हिन्तो and सुन्तो; from a fusion of both arises हुंतो. This form is found in Early-Hindi. Thus Chand, केतीक दूर अजमेर हुंत ॥ "How far is it *from* Ajmer?"—Pr. R. i. 178, and कहत सिद्ध किहि पुर हुतों ॥ "Quoth the Siddh, 'from what city?'"—*ib.* i. 184. Here we have two forms, हुंत and हुतों, in the former of which the softening of the nasal into anuswâra is compensated for by lengthening the vowel, and in the latter the anuswâra has been shifted forward on to the last syllable. Lassen points out that these two forms are both pleonastic or composite, that in हिन्तो being composed of the termination of the plur. instrumental हिं, and that in सुन्तो of the plural locative ending सुं, with the particle तो, from Skr. तस्, an adverbial particle with an ablative meaning, generally indicating "from a place." The form हिन्तो thus means "from by," and is a causal ablative; that in सुन्तो is "from in," and is a local ablative. Of course, with the fusion of the two forms into one, this distinction was lost, and, what is more important for our purpose, the distinction of number was by degrees lost too, so that in Old-H. and M. we have this ending used for singular as well as plural. M. has rejected the final तो, and lengthened the vowel, and the anuswâra not being merely the *anunâsika* or nasal breathing, but a method of writing

न as the first member of a nexus, having been restored to its full form, the result is the form ह्न.

In Nepali, a Hindi dialect of the eastern area, carried into the mountains by the last king of Simrâṉw and his followers, when they fled there on the capture of their country by Tughlak Shah in 1322 A.D., occurs the ablative form सित् "from," which may be, perhaps, connected with this form by a reverse process. If *hinto* and *sunto* could be fused into *hunto*, they could just as easily become *sinto*, and this form would result in *sit*. Nepali has not yet been studied scientifically, and its phonesis is as yet imperfectly known. In a brief memorandum on the language which I have,[1] a tendency to favour the palatal sounds is observable, as in तिमी "ye," H. तुम, and the like; it is not therefore improbable that the form *sinto* would be preferred to *hunto*; and by a people so far east as the Nepalis, the preference for ह over स would not be felt. There is, however, another theory, which would derive *sit* from Skr. सहित. This is open to the objection that सहित means "with," whereas *sit* means "from." As matters at present stand, I do not venture to decide for either theory, but leave the matter *sub judice*, but with a preference for the former.

To return to Marathi. There is an older form of this case in ऊनियां, ऊनि, the existence of which would seem to militate against Lassen's theory, as it is scarcely possible that *hunto* should have become *huniyâṉ*. To this it may be answered, first, that these two forms occur in poetry, and the lengthening may be due to metrical causes; and, secondly, a confusion has probably arisen in the popular mind between this form and that of the Prakrit gerund in ऊण = Skr. in त्वा. In this form also the old M. adds इयां, as in the word फुंदोनियां "sobbing" (Skr. perhaps स्पन्दित्वा, Pr. फंदूण), in the quotation from Tukaram

[1] And for which I beg to express my obligations to Dr. Wright, Residency Surgeon at Kathmâṉḍo, who courteously complied with my request for information, by sending this note drawn up by a Nepali Pandit.

in the last section, though modern M. now rejects this termination, and would write फुंदून. This इयां does not seem to be organic, but a mere fashion of a certain period. There is always an element of confusion in words beginning with *hu* or *ho*, on account of their resemblance to the substantive verb भू, which has from an early period sounded *ho*. It is then possible that the form *hunto* was regarded as a tense of *ho* "to be," and the shortened form *hún* would be confounded with the gerund होऊन; and as this latter was subjected to lengthening into होऊनियां, so the ablative form may easily have been at the same period lengthened to ऊनियां. The principle of false analogies here at work is to be found constantly in all departments of language, and to it may be ascribed numberless eccentricities in the vulgar speech. Parts of the verb *ho* are used in the other languages as case-signs. Thus Bengali uses its infinitive (originally a locative of the present participle) हइते for होइते, in the sense of "from," a usage only to be explained by supposing the idea to be that of having previously been at a place but not being there now, which involves the idea of having come away from it; thus घर हइते आसिलाम, "I came from the house," would be literally, "in being at the house I came," or, as we might say in colloquial English, "I have been at the house and have come away." Similar is the use of *hoke* or *hokar* "having been," in the sense of "through" in Hindi; thus, to express "I came through Benares," one would say बनारस होके आया हूं, literally, "having been in Benares I am come." It is not surprising, therefore, that the Marathas should have thought that हून "from" was contracted from होऊन "having been;" and were it not for the Old-Hindi forms used by Chand, we might have been prepared to acquiesce in this view. As it is, however, Lassen's theory seems decidedly correct, and has been therefore adopted in this work. To this formation may also be ascribed the ओं of Panjabi locatives, as in घरों, mentioned a few pages back, which is thus to be regarded as in

reality an ablative, and contracted from घर हों. In fact, the locative may itself be called an ablative of place, the meaning "in" being expressed by the ablative in many Aryan languages.

§ 52. Another quasi-synthetical form is the dative in Marathi which ends in स, and is derived from the Prakrit genitive in स्स, Skr. स्य, the dative having been early absorbed into the genitive in most Prakrit dialects. This form in Marathi cannot be classed with the locative and instrumental as a purely synthetic relic, because it has ceased to be restricted to those positions where it would occur in Sanskrit. In the parent speech, the genitive in *asya* belongs exclusively to the declension of the *a*-stem; in other stems, the genitive is formed by the addition of *aḥ*, and in some cases *âḥ*; the vowel is also rejected or amalgamated in some nouns of the *i*- and *u*-stems, and in some few classes the ending is *uḥ*; so that the singular genitive type may be generalized as simply visarga preceded by certain vowels, whose variations are determined by the form of the stem. But visarga is too weak a thing to last, it is almost entirely swept away by the Prakrits and their modern descendants, and recourse is had to the stronger form *asya*, or rather *sya* of the *a*-stem, with which also agrees the older pronominal declension. This is by the Maharashtri Prakrit applied to all masc. and neut. stems indifferently, thus

Pr. वच्छ "tree," वच्छस्स Skr. वृक्षस्य.
„ अग्गि "fire," अग्गिस्स „ अग्नेः
„ बन्धु "friend," बन्धुस्स „ बन्धोः

For feminine stems, however, Prakrit does not use this form, and even for those given above it has an alternative form in णो for the *i*- and *u*-stems; so that we may trace the ending *sya* thus: in Skr. it is used only for the masc. and neuter genitive singular of the *a*-stem, in Maharashtri for all singular genitives, masc. and neuter, in modern Marathi for all datives of all three

genders, singular and plural. It has therefore, in the latter, come to be almost a case-particle; but, probably owing to its shortness, it is, as we learn from the grammarians, used in a somewhat restricted manner, especially in the Dakhin or central part of the Marathi area, in which a more correct form of the language prevails than in the Konkan or coast-line. The identification of this स with the स्य of the Skr. genitive would seem to be fatal to the theory which would derive the M. genitive in चा, etc., from स्य. The same form can hardly be the origin of two separate cases. This, however, will be more fully discussed in its proper place.

It is in Marathi more especially that traces of these quasi-synthetical forms are found, though even in the other languages faint indications may be seen. They are valuable as supplying a link in the chain of development, and as showing how, as the spirit of inflectional construction and expression died out of the popular mind, the old case-endings fell into inextricable confusion, one swallowed up another, four or five fused into one, an ending peculiar to one case was appropriated to another, the distinctions between different declensions were obliterated, and the languages, like new wine left to settle in the vats, deposited all their sediment, and were racked off clear and sparkling. It was all very well for a dreamy old Brahmin, who had nothing better to do with his time than to sit in the shade of a tree and doze over philosophical abstractions, to have a dozen different ways of declining his noun or conjugating his verb; and it was no difficult task for him to recollect each one of a vast growth of terminations and inflections: but life is too short now-a-days for such minutiæ, the business of existence is too varied, and time is too valuable. The modern languages are not objects of pity, as having degenerated from a higher level; they are rather to be congratulated on having known how to bring order and simplicity out of a rank chaotic overgrowth of forms and types, and having thus become fitted for use in these bustling modern days.

Among the particles that are now used as signs of case, there are several which may possibly be classed as quasi-synthetical; but they are not given here, because some doubt still hangs over their origin and real nature. They will be duly noted in subsequent sections.

§ 53. Adjectives partake of the nature of substantives in so far as their form and structure are identical with them, both being nouns, though the former are attributive, while the other are appellative. But as adjectives are generally coupled with substantives, and as these latter are the principal words in the sentence, indicating by themselves the object referred to, it is natural that they should do the bulk of the grammatical work, the adjective being merely appended to qualify the substantive, and not therefore requiring to be so accurately inflected or declined. In several languages the adjective, consequently, undergoes less change than the substantive with which it agrees. Here, again, we have the old common sense system of simplifying as much as may be. In Sanskrit, Latin, Gothic, and the older languages of the family, the adjective was made to agree with the substantive in gender and case, so that each adjective presents a triple declension, masculine, feminine, and neuter. Sanskrit sometimes shirked all this elaborate concord. Its array of declensional and conjugational forms was so formidable that Sanskrit writers themselves seem to have felt the burden of so vast an amount of wealth, and to have endeavoured by various tricks of composition to shake off the load. Thus the necessity of inflecting the adjective to follow all the varying phases of the substantive is to a great extent evaded by compounding the two together by the method known as Karmadhâraya, by which, whether, as is more common, the adjective precede, or, as also occurs, the substantive precede, only one inflection is used. Thus, instead of saying नीलं उत्पलं "a blue lotus," they combine the two words into one, producing नीलोत्पलं, and thus,

when they require to use the genitive for instance, नीलोत्पलस्य expresses the meaning quite as clearly as the longer नीलस्य उत्पलस्य. Latin has not this power, and every one is familiar with the clumsiness that results when one has to string together a number of adjectives and substantives in the lengthy genitive plural forms *-orum* and *-arum*.

All that is really necessary in the inflection of adjectives has been retained in the modern Aryan languages, and much that is not necessary in some. So long as there exists some clear means of knowing which substantive in a sentence any given adjective qualifies, it is only needful to decline the substantive. Confusion can only arise in a few instances. Thus in English, when we say, "I have found an old man's cloak," we may mean the cloak of an old man, or an old cloak such as men wear, as distinguished from such a cloak as women wear; but even in this extreme case confusion can be obviated in our flexible language by a different arrangement of the sentence, and in nine cases out of ten the adjective would by its meaning indicate the substantive which it qualified. If we speak of a "blue sailor's jacket," the word *blue* can only refer to jacket, as such a thing as a blue sailor would be absurd, and we know that sailors habitually wear blue jackets. Such a language as ours is worthy of a civilized and enlightened race, because by its very absence of forms it assumes that those who use it are people of intelligence and do not require to have their minds guided to the meaning by the leading strings of synthetical forms. A Roman required this aid. To him "cærulea nautæ tunica" was a different thing from "cærulei nautæ tunica;" and had he been unprovided with the help supplied by the variation of the final letter of the adjective, he would have been at a loss what to understand. Thus we may say that synthetical languages are fitted for the childhood of the human race, analytical ones for their manhood.

Bengali and Oṛiya do not change the form of the adjective at

all, whether for gender or case; the adjective is placed just before the substantive, and one case-ending does for both. Hindi gives to those adjectives which end in *â*, a feminine in *î*, and an oblique singular in *e*, but does not make use of the oblique form of the plural. Thus one would say **काले घोड़े का** "of a black horse," and not **कोलों घोड़ों का** "of black horses," but **काले घोड़ों का**. The reason of this is obvious. The adjective having been put into the oblique form, common sense shows that it must refer to the substantive in the oblique form, and there is no need for a closer method of indication. The speaker is supposed to be able to use his wits to this small extent. Panjabi, however, is conscious that its speakers' wits are not sharp enough to be trusted, and the adjective is therefore put through all four forms in each gender; as **निकीआं जातां दा** "of low castes" (*f.*), **चिट्टिआं घोड़ां दा** "of white horses" (*m.*). This gives a clumsy appearance to the language, and ought not to be necessary for clearness.

The Gujarati adjective has all three genders with the typical terminations, **ओ** masc., **ई** fem., and **उं** neut. The feminine remains unchanged for number and case, except that it optionally adds to the plural the universal *o*. The masculine forms its oblique in *â*, like substantives of the *o*-stem, and like them has the locative and instrumental in *e*, which ending is here also allowed to pass over into the ablative; the plural oblique is the same as the singular, giving in consequence a type quite analogous to its parent Hindi. The neuter differs from the masc. only in adding anuswâra to the nom. plural. The range of forms may be thus drawn out:

Nom. Sing.	Masc.	सारो "good,"	Fem.	सारी	Neut.	सारुं.
Nom. Pl.	„	सारा	„	„	सारी	„	सारां.
Sing. / Plur.	Obl.	„	सारा	„	„	सारी and / सारीओ,	„	सारा.

The adjective is thus precisely similar to the substantive of

the *o*-stem throughout; and from the position which Gujarati holds in respect of Hindi, as well as from the analogy of Panjabi, it may legitimately be inferred that Hindi itself formerly had all these forms, though it has now got rid of some of them. Adjectives ending in a consonant do not undergo any change.

Sindhi declines its adjectives in the same manner as the substantives of corresponding terminations. It follows that adjectives agree in gender, number and case with their substantives, with the exception of that somewhat numerous class of words of Arabic and Persian origin which are not liable to change. Although the genius of Sindhi requires that every word should end in a vowel, either pure or nasalized, and in consequence words derived from Persian ending in a consonant have the short vowel *u* added to them, as खूबु from خُوب, पशी-मानु from پشيمان, yet it seems to have been thoroughly understood and clearly felt that this final *u* was something different from the final *u* in pure Sindhi words, and it has therefore not been subjected to the changes which the rules of the language exact from indigenous words. The same reason has apparently protected Arabic words, whose *un* of the nominative, the *tanwîn* of grammarians, had probably died out of the popular speech of the Arabs before the period of their conquest of Sindh, so that the words at that time were as perfectly consonantally-ending as Persian words, and had the *u* given them by the people of Sindh.

In Marathi the adjective takes, as in the other languages, the typical endings, आ masc., ई fem., ऐं neuter, for the singular, and ए masc., या fem., ईं neuter, for the plural. This type of adjective is the only one that changes for gender: all others, whether ending in vowels or consonants, remain unchanged. As usual with this language, there is some indecision in the forms used for the oblique. In the majority of instances the adjective merely takes the form *yá*, in analogy to those substantives in *â* which insert

the semivowel in the oblique, and which grammarians call the sixth declension. The adjective may, however, take the form *e*, which is also used by substantives in *á* as the ending of the nom. plural. Thus they say भल्या माणसाला or भले माणसाला "to a good man," and this pair of endings is used also with fem. and neuter substantives. Adjectives ending in any other vowel or in a consonant do not change at all.

It will thus be seen that there is in all the languages a tendency to deprive the adjective of its full range of terminations —a tendency based on the rational principle that such an elaborate variety of endings as the adjective is capable of affording, if expanded to its full limits, is quite unnecessary for clearness, and may therefore be dispensed with. In this respect even the Marathi, usually so prodigal of forms, has allowed itself to be influenced by practical considerations. Only the uncultivated Sindhi still retains all this useless apparatus, for which, perhaps, among other similar perfections, Dr. Trumpp would call upon its sister-dialects to envy it!

§ 54. The numerals, whose elegant and symmetrical development from the ponderous Sanskrit compounds has been exhibited in § 26, are simple in their declension, taking generally the usual signs of plurality and case when required, but inasmuch as they are strictly adjectives, not often requiring any such signs. In B. and O. they possess no peculiarity; in H. there are only one or two points requiring notice. When special emphasis is required, or a numeral is used with reference to some object previously discussed, the plural form is used; but in this case it is the oblique form in ओं that is used, none of the nominative forms taken by the noun being customary. Thus we say तीनों भाई बोले "*the* three brothers said," alluding to some trio of brothers well known to the speaker. The use of the oblique form is only another instance of the tendency of common forms to extend beyond their proper and original sphere into all and

every other as occasion may serve. The forms of the nom. plural of the substantive vary, but the oblique plural ends invariably in ओं, and this form therefore has acquired an ascendancy, and come to be regarded as the common and unmistakable note of plurality. As no numeral in Hindi ends in long *á*, there is consequently no opening for any change for the oblique singular, and we hear एक का "of one," दो को "to two," पचास से "with fifty," and the like. The habit of not using any grammatical forms which are not absolutely necessary has led to the almost universal rejection of all signs of plurality in a noun constructed with a numeral. If we say "fifty houses," it is evident that "houses" more than one are meant; what need is there to put the noun in the plural? पचास घर में "in fifty houses," is quite intelligible without any plural sign. It is thus that language gradually simplifies itself by the aid of a few natural reflections.

In Panjabi it is usual to add the plural sign to a numeral, as दसां मनुखां दा "of ten men," but this only in the oblique cases, and it would not be incorrect to omit it. Gujarati follows the Hindi customs in this respect.

All three languages, H. P. and G., treat their ordinals as common adjectives of the oxytone type. Hindi adds the terminations—

Masc. Nom. वां, Fem. Nom. } वीं.
„ Obl. वें, „ Obl. }

Panjabi the same; but it, as well as H. in many local dialects, still preserves the older ending in मां, मीं, में, which is derived from the Sanskrit ordinals in म: Whence comes the anuswâra I am unable to say. Gujarati knows only the simple ending in *m.* मो, *f.* मी, *n.* मुं; *pl. m.* मा, मे, *f.* मी, *n.* मां or मे. The anuswâra in H. and P. is probably quite a modern addition, and begins only at the "fifth;" the first four, and the sixth, are regular (see § 27).

Marathi declines its cardinal numerals regularly after the manner of the substantives of similar form; thus एक "one," forms its oblique by adding *â*, as एका, after the model of masc. and neut. nouns in mute *a* (§ 41, cl. 1). In the feminine the oblique is formed by the addition of ई, as एकी, like आग, obl. आगी (§ 41, cl. 3). But the numerals दोन "two," तीन "three," and चार "four," take a new form in declension, with crude stems दोह्यें, तिह्यें, चारें, which resemble the plural forms such as दोनों, तीनों, in use in Hindi, as mentioned above. When they refer to persons, another set of forms is used, produced by the addition of घे to the shortened bases दो, ति and चौ, thus making

M. Pl. Nom. दोघे, Fem. Nom. दोघी, M. Obl. दोघां, F. Obl. दोघीं.
„ तिघे, „ तिघी, „ तिघां, „ तिघीं.
„ चौघे, „ चौघी, „ चौघां, „ चौघीं.

This process does not extend beyond the number "four," but is parallel to the practice, in the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi, of adding गो to a number when it stands alone; thus they say दोगो "two," तिनगो "three." And in Oṛiya the longer form गोटा is in use; thus गोटाए "one (thing)," दुइ गोटा "two (things)." In all Indian languages the practice of adding some word meaning "piece, portion," etc., to numerals standing alone, is common. The Marathi here differs from the rest by restricting the particle to persons. In Oṛiya गोटा means a "piece," and so also does the curtailed Bhojpuri form गो; the derivation is perhaps from Skr. गोचक "family," in the general sense of a class or collection of persons or things.

Sindhi treats all its cardinals as plurals, and, except in one or two cases, inflects them as nouns with a regular oblique. Thus

व़ "two," Pl. Obl. व़िनि.
ट्रे "three," „ ट्रिनि.
चारि "four," „ चइनि.

where the र of the nominative is dropped, as it is in the form

चौ used in compounds. In these three numerals the form of the oblique in ह्नि is used; in the rest that in ञ्नि, as—

पंज "five," Pl. Obl. पंजनि.

छ "six," „ छहनि.

As the words "two" and "four" have no neuter plural in न in Skr., it is probable that the Sindhi forms have been extended to these words from त्रिनि, Skr. चीणि, gen. चयाणां, Prakrit तिंहं. The Pr. oblique of "four" is चउंहं or चउन्हं, from which चह्नि may have arisen, though we can hardly derive विनि from Pr. दोन्हं. It is more probable that the ordinary termination of the oblique plural of nouns has here been extended to the numerals than that these words have been separately formed from Prakrit originals.

The series of tens from 11 to 18, which end in हं, drop the anuswâra as well as the *a* which precedes the ह; thus—

यारहं "eleven," Obl. Pl. यारहनि.

Similar to this is the Hindi dialectic pronunciation बार्हों "twelves," from बारह "twelve." The numerals in इ and ए, as सठि "sixty," and नवे "ninety," are not inflected; असी "eighty," however, takes an oblique असिञ. When we get among the higher numerals, much of the sense of plurality is lost, and singular nouns are often in all the languages constructed with them.

The word सउ "one hundred," is in all the languages treated as if it were a substantive, and in Sindhi has a regular declension, as follows:

Nom. Sing. सउ, Nom. Pl. सव or सा.

„ Obl. सव, „ Obl. सवनि, सानि, सवें, सएं.

The numerals, however, often remain uninflected before a substantive, which saves a good deal of trouble.

Just as in Hindi the numerals, when treated as collectives, take the oblique plural, as बीसें बीसें गाडी "scores and scores

of carts," लाखों लाखों सिपाही "soldiers by lakhs," so also in Sindhi they take the regular plural ending in ऊं of fem. stems in अ (see § 42); thus डह "ten," makes डहूं, as ड्रे डहूं "three tens," and the oblique in उनि, as चारि डहुनि "four tens," and the like. This attribution of the feminine is due to the abstract character of the collectives, just as in Greek *τριάς* "a triad," *ἑξάς* "a hexad," *δεκάς* "a decad," are feminine; but, as far as I am aware, no such change takes place in the other languages. Gujarati expresses collectives by adding क, as in Sanskrit. Thus G. टको "a triad," Skr. चीक, G. चोक, Skr. चतुष्क, and so on; but it also adds the neuter sign उं in supersession of क, as in सातुं "a heptad," Skr. सप्तकं, G. आठुं "an octad," Skr. अष्टकं. In this respect it appears to stand alone.

Sindhi often adds the emphatic *î* or *hî*, as do also the other languages, to all cardinal numbers, to denote completeness; but Sindhi sometimes incorporates this emphatic syllable into the numeral, and adds the terminations to the word thus formed, as

ड्रेई "all three," Obl. ड्रिन्ही, ड्रिन्हिनि.

but

चारई "all four," „ चइनी.

The ordinal numbers in all the languages are regularly inflected as adjectives in *á*: thus H. *m.* दूसरा, *f.* दूसरी, *obl. sing.* दूसरे, *obl. pl.* दूसरों. But Sindhi has added an anuswâra to all its ordinals. The usual inflection of the adjective in ओ, fem. ई, must therefore be supplemented in all its forms by an anuswâra superadded. Trumpp would derive this anuswâra from the म of the Skr. termination तम; but this seems opposed to the analogy of the other languages, in which the *m* of तम is preserved, or softened into व, with the anuswâra still existing, as in H. वां, वीं. It is, however, in accordance with the general analogy, that the त should be elided in Prakrit words, and म softened to anuswâra, and we should probably concede to Sindhi greater regularity than to the others, and suppose that it is H.

and P. which are irregular. In the following examples Sindhi certainly answers to Trumpp's derivation :—

	SKR.	PR.	S.		H.
Fifth	पंचम	पंचमो	पंजों	but	पांचवां.
Seventh	सप्तम	सत्तमो	सतीं	,,	सातवां.

On the other hand,

Eleventh	एकादश	एक्कारसमो	कार्हों	,,	ग्यारहवां.
Twentieth	विंश	वीसो	वीहों	,,	बीसवां.

In these two latter there is in Skr. at least no तम to start from, and though Prakrit has एक्कारसम, which would give कार्हों, yet it has preferentially वीसो, which will not account for the anuswâra of वीहों. It is true Pr. has also वीसतिम, which would lead to वीहद्मो; but the Sindhi form of this would probably be वीहिंओ, not वीहों, unless we suppose an elision of ए and the throwing forward of the anuswâra. In Panjabi, however, we have both the म and the anuswâra standing together, as in सत्तमां "seventh," so that the latter certainly cannot here be a relic of the former. Chand's ordinals are as follows:

1st प्रथम.	3rd तृती.	5th पंचम.	7th सतं.
2nd दुती.	4th चवं.	6th छठं.	8th अठं.

in which, while the final म is sometimes written as a consonant, and at others as an anuswâra, there is nevertheless nothing to indicate the source whence the modern terminations arose. The only way that they can be accounted for is by supposing reduplication of the म. Further research is required on this point.

§ 55. We now arrive at the most interesting and important section of our whole inquiry into the noun, namely, the origin of the case-affixes. Having rejected the synthetical method as a whole, and retaining merely certain half-effaced traces of declension, our languages have had to betake themselves, like their European relatives, to added particles, in order to draw out

and express fully the various relations of the noun. These particles are placed after the noun, in contrast to the European method, which places them before it; but this practice is in consonance with the order followed by the mind of an Indian speaker, who constructs his sentences always in a sequence directly the reverse of that used in the languages of Europe, so that, in translating from an Indian vernacular, one has always to begin at the end of a sentence, and work backwards.[1] A great deal has been written on this particular branch of my subject, but for the most in a desultory and inconclusive manner; and I hope, therefore, to be able to put together, in something like order and arrangement, the results of the inquiries of others, as well as my own discoveries and beliefs, so that, if the question cannot at once be settled, it may at least assume a more concrete and manageable form.

It may be assumed as a starting-point, that the case-affixes are remnants of nouns or perhaps pronouns, which have been cut down and worn away by use. I think it will be admitted by all philologists that any other assumption would be irreconcileable, not only with the fundamental principles of modern Aryan glossology, but with the universal laws of language. In the wide field of Indo-European comparative philology, the great master Bopp has conclusively proved that this principle everywhere pre-

[1] The difficulty of following the sense of a long passage in a vernacular document which this practice induces, will have struck many of my brother magistrates in India. Take the following, from a Police report: "To day at 1 watch of the day A. B. watchman of village C. brought to the police-station a brass drinking vessel and platter which he found during his rounds last night on the edge of the public road leading from D. to E. at the south-western corner of the pond lately repaired by the Manager of the estate of Raja F." This would run in Bengali thus: "To-day of the day one watch of village C. watchman A. B. of Raja F. of the estate by the manager lately repaired of the pond at the south-western corner from D. to E. leading of the public road at the edge by him last night his rounds during found of brass a drinking vessel and platter to the police station having brought, etc." All the verbs throughout the report are in the conjunctive participle "having done," and at the end of perhaps the fourth page one comes at last to the only finite verb in the whole, "I have reported it"!

vails, and that even the synthetical case-endings of the early classical languages are relics of independent words. It is therefore safe and rational to assume that in the languages of which we are treating, allied as they are closely and indissolubly with the old mother-speech Sanskrit, the same sentiment exists, and the same method of word-building still survives. Throughout the material world we see that the process of reproduction is one of such a nature that it can be repeated time after time for ever. Man begets man throughout the ages, and tree produces tree; the mountains are washed down into the sea, and the forces at work in the bowels of our planet upheave fresh mountains, which are in their turn washed away. So also in language, words originally independent are seized and bound into slavery to other words, become case-affixes, are incorporated into case-endings, and are finally abraded altogether. Then the mind seizes fresh words, and binds them into slavery again, till they also wear out by use; and, if the world lasts long enough, will in their turn pass into case-endings and disappear, and a third set will have to be captured and made use of. The process repeats itself, and the modern Indians, when they had recourse to the words which have become the case-affixes of to-day, only did what their remote ancestors had done before them, when they took pronouns and nouns and made them into the terminations which Sanskrit literature has preserved to us, such as *-ena*, *âya*, *asya*, and *ât*.

Literature, however, has a tendency to arrest the process of change; and the modern languages of Aryan India are so rapidly becoming cultivated literary tongues, that we may suppose that they will not in future develope so quickly as they did in former times. The literature which they possessed before the advent of the English schoolmaster was not of a kind to influence greatly the spoken language, but rather held itself proudly apart, and looked down on the folk-speech. Even in the present day this silly feeling is strong. A generally sensible writer like Bankim

Chandra, the editor of that excellent Bengali magazine the "Bangadarśana," for instance, in writing a serial novel, puts into the mouth of one of his characters the familiar word "diyâ-silâi" (meaning a match for lighting a candle); but in the very next line, when writing in his own person, uses the highflown Sanskrit equivalent "dîpaśilâka," though he knows perfectly well that for a thousand Bengalis who understand the former, not ten would know the latter word. It is to be hoped that this sort of nonsense has had its day, and that in all the seven languages literature will by degrees become more natural, and that men will begin to see that there is no disgrace in writing as they talk.

But this is a digression. To return to our subject. It follows from what has been said above that we must look for the origin of the case-affixes in nouns of the older language. It follows also that the nouns in question must have been in use at the period when the modern languages began to be formed,—in other words, they must have been words of the lower and more popular dialects of Prakrit. We should hardly be justified in looking for them in scenic Prakrit, but rather in Apabhranśa. The argument used by scholars in Europe, that the dialect of the plays and of Hâla's songs must have been a spoken dialect, because players and dancing-girls could not have used a language which their audience did not understand, has in reality very little weight to the mind of one who has lived long in India. It is a curious but quite undeniable fact, that dancing-girls *do* in the present day sing many songs which only the educated portion of their hearers can understand, or, if the humbler and more illiterate part of the audience do understand them at all, they do so, not because the language is that which they themselves speak, but because it is fine talk, such as they hear their betters use. In an Indian language there are always three or four shades or strata of talk existing side by side at the same epoch. Thus there is in the Bengali of to-day the highly

Sanskritized style of the pandit, the somewhat artificial, but less Sanskritized style of gentlemen of education and refinement, the practical every-day speech of the middle classes, which contains only the simpler Sanskrit words, the strange jargon of the women, and the rough homely patois of the peasantry. It is quite possible for a foreigner to know one of these languages, or strata of language, without knowing the other. It often happens that the English indigo- or tea-planter, mixing only with the lower classes, speaks with fluency the peasant speech, while the high official speaks equally well the dialect of the educated; and the planter cannot talk to a native gentleman in the habitual dialect of the class, nor can the official understand the peasant without an interpreter. These things are so now, and they probably were so a thousand years ago, and, for aught we know, will be so a thousand years hence; and we are therefore justified by experience and analogy in looking to the lower or Apabhraṅśa dialects for the origin of modern forms—all the jargon of Hâla and the plays notwithstanding. I shall now proceed to exhibit the results of such investigations as have up to the present time been made by myself and others, taking each case-affix separately.

§ 56. The Objective. Under this head are classed the accusative and dative of the Sanskrit. Prakrit had already lost its dative, and the modern languages make, strictly speaking, no distinction between the nominative and accusative. There remains therefore no way of designating that form which the noun takes when it is the object of an action but that of "objective." Marathi alone has a distinct quasi-synthetical dative, which, as we have shown above (§ 52), is a descendant of the Sanskrit genitive in *asya*.[1] In Marathi, however, as well as

[1] The Gipsy language has also an objective in *és*, which is used only with masculine nouns and in the singular; thus *Rom* "a gipsy," obj. *romés*; *rai* "a lord," obj. *raiés*; *raklo* (H. *laṛkâ* inverted) "a boy," obj. *raklés*.—Paspati, p. 50. The same form occurs in Kashmiri, as *mâul* "father," obj. *mâlis*; *nichu* "child," obj. *nicharis*.

in the other languages, there is no sign to mark the object. In H. घर गिर गया "the house fell," we have the same form as in घर बनाया "he built the house." When it is thought necessary to emphasize or express the state of objectivity—a question the discussion of which pertains rather to syntax than to formlore,—the following particles are added to the oblique form of the noun:—

Hindi	*ko.*	Marathi	*lâ.*
Panjabi	*nuṇ.*	Bengali	*ke.*
Sindhi	*khe.*	Oriya	*ku.*
Gujarati	*neṇ.*	Nepali	*lâî.*

These affixes are the same both in the singular and plural. Of the seven languages H. S. B. and O. fall into one group, P. M. and G. into another.

The H. affix *ko* is softened from an older form कौं, which is still in use in the Braj Bhâshâ and many other rustic dialects. An older form still is कहं; and the oldest form of all is that found in Chand, कड्ढं. The form कंह, which Trumpp[1] hastily affiliates to those given above, I hesitate to connect with them, believing it to belong to a different root altogether. What, then, is the origin of this affix? It is derived clearly from some noun, as I have already shown reason for believing; and the problem is—What is that noun?

Of the use of को it is unnecessary to give examples, as the form is in common daily employ. Similarly, कौं is to be met with on every page of a Braj Bhâshâ poem. कहं is also very common. Thus, in the Ramayan of Tulsi Das—

ऋधि सिधि संपति नदी सुहाईं ॥
उमगि अवध अंबुधि कहं आईं ॥

Ayodhyâ Kânda, 7.

"Prosperity, success, wealth, (like) fair rivers
Overflowing, came *to* the sea of Avadh."

[1] Sindhi Gr. p. 116. The author also errs, in my opinion, in considering the anuswâra in कौं a modern addition. It would rather seem to be the older form of the two.

नृप युवराज राम कहं देहू ॥

Ayodhyâ Kânda, 18.

"King, give the heir-apparentship *to* Râm."

अस कहि नाइ सबनि कहं माथा ॥
चलेउ हरषि हिय धरि रघुनाथा ॥

Sundara Kânda, 8.

"Thus having said, bowing his head *to* all,
He went rejoicing, holding in his heart Raghunâth."

It occurs on an average ten times on a page throughout the poem, and in some of the recent lithographed editions is regularly written कइं—a point to which I shall refer again presently. Sur Das uses कों, कौं, and कौं; but not, as far as I know, कहं or कइं. It is impossible to speak with certainty, as it would take half a life-time to read through the vast ocean of the *Sûr Sâgar*.

Chand uses several forms, but the anuswâra is retained in all, thus showing that it is not a mere modern addition. His forms are कौं, कौं, and कइं. We cannot tell how far Chand's forms have been modernized by copyists; but that कइं is a true form, and not a copyist's error, is evident from the fact that in the places where it occurs, it is demanded by the metre, and occasionally appears with the final vowel lengthened in cases where a long vowel is wanted. Instances of both कइं and कहं are—

जद्धि सु सोई तुम एक कइं ॥

"He seeks one of you."—i. 88, 9.

प्रात समै वर दुजन कइं ॥
वांटि अप्प कर दीन ॥

"At morning-time a gift to the Brahmins
Dividing with his own hands gave."—vii. 5, 3–4.

This latter would run thus in Modern-Hindi—प्रात के समय वर द्विजों को, बांटकर अपने साथ से दिया.

करि दण्डौत सबन कइं ॥

"Having made obeisance to all."—vi. 38, 2.

अैसी कहि मो कइं डर पावइ ॥

"Having thus said, you find (*i.e.* cause) fear to me."—i. 160, 1.

प्रिथिराज माहौवै जुद्ध कहं ॥
हम परिमाल बुलाइव ॥

"For the war with Prithirâj at Mahoba,
Parimâl has summoned us."—xxi. 84, 6.

Of earlier forms than कइं we have no examples, and the gap must be filled by inference. Where actual evidence fails, we do not, as some carping critics say, fall back upon mere guesswork, but, applying the known laws of phonetic development, endeavour to reconstruct an older form, and are not guessing any more than Owen guessed when he reconstructed an extinct animal from one bone. We cannot do this; but it may be possible to get to a step or two further back by analogy. It is admitted that initial letters seldom change (see Vol. I. p. 190); we therefore assume on good grounds that the क of this word has come down unchanged. Further, ह generally results from the dropping of the organic portion of an aspirated letter; and उं as a termination represents the Sanskrit termination of the neuter in *-am*.

The following theories have been advanced, based on the above, and similar well-known phonetic processes. Trumpp (Sindhi Gr. p. 115) derives from Skr. कृते, which he supposes took the form किते, and he thus elides र, which, on going out, aspirates the preceding consonant, thus producing the Sindhi खे; the Hindi को he derives from कृतं, through Prakrit forms कितो, किओ, and को. This theory fails, as it has been shown above that the older forms contain an ह and anuswâra, neither of which could be got from Trumpp's process, and there is no reason to suppose that को has a different origin from कइं. To account for the ह, Trumpp supposes that the ऋ of कृतं on going out aspirated the following consonant, thus producing कथं. That कथं would naturally produce कइं, कहं, and perhaps even the allied form

कंह, is undeniable; the only difficulty is in getting to कयं from कृतं. There is another way by which, still retaining कृतं as the origin, we may account for the ह, namely, by supposing that when कृतं had become, as we know it does in Prakrit, कतं and कदं, the next step was to elide the द (Vol. I. p. 202), thus getting कअं; but the place of a single consonant which has been lost by elision is often supplied by ह in Prakrit,[1] and by this process a form कहं is obtainable.

The weak side of all this argument is that कृतं does not commend itself as a probable origin for an affix meaning primarily and generally "towards." Trumpp says that in Skr. कृतं is used as an equivalent of कृते in the sense of "for the sake of," "on account of," "as regards." But even if this statement be true of classical Sanskrit, it is doubtful whether the use of कृतं in this way was ever sufficiently common among the lower classes to have given rise to so very common an affix as the को of the modern objective. It is difficult to see how a word primarily meaning "that which has been done" could come to mean "on account of." With कृते and कृतेन there is no such difficulty, because these words mean respectively "in that which has been done," and "by that which has been done;" and the transition from these senses to that of "on account of" is easy, resting as it does more on the acknowledged meaning of the locative and instrumental cases than on the root.

The Sindhi objective affix खे *khe*, can, without doing violence to probability, be admitted as an offspring of कृते; but the mind is not easily satisfied with the parallel affiliation of को to कृतं.

As far as concerns the meaning, a more probable origin for को is that partially suggested by Hoernle (J.A.S.B. 1872, pt. i. p. 174, *et seqq.*), who, however, has not traced the steps of the trans-

[1] Weber, Saptasatakam, p. 29. "Es scheint vielmehr das *h* in diesen Fällen nur als eine Art spiritus lenis zur Vermeidung des Hiatus gebraucht zu sein, ähnlich wie im Mâgadhî der Jaina das *y*, in einigen Fällen aber auch *h* selbst oder *r* verwendet wird (Bhagavati, i. 399, 409, 411, 426)."

ition correctly. The meaning of को being evidently, in the first instance, "towards," "near," and the like, we are led to look at the analogy of Bengali, in which language काछे means "near," and is used with a genitive as an independent postposition, as ताहार् काछे "near him," or "in his possession," or "to him." Now this word काछे is from the Skr. कक्षे, locative of कक्ष, and means literally "in the armpit," or, as we should say, "at the side." कक्ष becomes in Old-Hindi काख, and the accusative कक्षं would become first कक्खं, then काखं. As ख, like the rest of the aspirates, migrates into ह, a form काहं is legitimately presumable; whence, by shortening the vowel, we get the already established form कहं, with its variant कइं. I confess that this derivation approves itself to my mind in preference to any other. काख, as a substantive, meaning "armpit," is in common daily use in the present day. It is a Tadbhava of somewhat later origin than those very early Tadbhavas which have given us the adverbs and case-affixes, and it is therefore no objection to this derivation that the case-affix should have undergone more change than the noun. As a parallel instance may be cited the adverbs like कहां, जहां, where ह is all that remains of the स्थ of स्थानं, which word, when used as a noun, has kept the fuller consonantal form थान. When used as a noun, the word कक्ष loses its final inherent *a*, and becomes a barytone monosyllable; but the affix comes from the accusative, which is used adverbially, and consequently retains its anuswâra. कक्खं = काइं, कौं, is equivalent to समं = सौं and स्थानं = ठाउं.

काहं actually occurs in a place where the metre requires a long vowel, in Tulsi Das's Ramayan, Ayodhyâ Kânda 330:—

लिखत सुधाकर लिखि गा राहू ॥
बिधि गति बाम सदा सब काहूं ॥

"In writing the moon Râhu has been written,
Fate is always crooked *to* all,"

unless we here take काह without anuswâra to mean "why;" but this is strained, and does not account for सब.

In confirmation of this derivation as regards the meaning, a matter in which Trumpp's derivation fails to satisfy, it may be further added that in modern Urdu the same method is still adopted, though with a different word. The Arabic word بغل "armpit," is always used in the sense of "near," "close by," "to;" thus گھر کے بغل "near the house."

Hoernle is, I think, wrong in saying that को is *derived from* Bengali काहि, as it is impossible to derive a twelfth-century Hindi word from a fifteenth-century Bengali one, and Hindi is the parent, or at least the elder sister, not the daughter, of Bengali; but Hoernle has certainly, in my opinion, indicated the direction in which we should look for the origin of the word, and I believe the steps were as I have shown above; and further research will probably establish the intermediate forms for which we have at present no actual proof. A striking analogy to the assumed genesis of कइं from कचं, is afforded by the old H. and B. affix पइं "beside," "to," which arises from Skr. पचं, from पच "a side," through पाखं and पाइं, which last form is actually used by the early poets.

The Oṛiya କୁ may be considered as a mere variant of the Hindi को, which itself, in the corrupt dialect of Hindustani spoken in Southern India, sounds कू. The Oṛiyas do not pronounce the ओ *o* at all fully, but give it a soft short sound, which it is very difficult to distinguish from उ. The Telugus, the near neighbours of the Oṛiyas, with whom they have for centuries had close intercourse, also mark the accusative by a form କୁ. Telugu, however, being a Dravidian language, is not in any way connected with the languages of our group, though, as it has received a large number of Sanskrit and Prakrit words, there are often great similarities between it and Oṛiya, and it is singular that the structure of the verb also is very similar. Dr. Caldwell (Dravidian Comp. Gr., p. 225) asserts the identity of

the two forms; but we have already traced the Hindi *ko* to an earlier form कउं, which, whatever be its origin, is distinctly an Aryan word, and has no connexion with the Dravidian affix. The Telugu affix is as often sounded *ki* as *ku*, the vowel varying according to the final vowel of the noun to which it is affixed; thus *Hari* makes *Hari-ki* "to Hari," but *dora* "a lord," *dora-ku*.

Bengali ordinarily in its earliest recorded forms, in the Vaishnava hymns, does not mark the objective any more than early Hindi does. When, however, it is necessary to indicate this case, we generally find it noted by the affix रे, which still survives in the so-called dative of the modern pronoun. In this early stage we also occasionally find the Hindi crude affix *hi*. Instances of रे are common in the Bengali Mahâbhârat of Kâśirâm Dâs—a book much beloved and bethumbed by the ordinary Bengali shopkeeper. Thus वृक्षमूले वसि राजा कहिल भीमेरे ॥ "sitting at the root of a tree, the king said *to* Bhîma." —414, *a*. 5.[1] जलपान करिवारे जाय सरोवरे ॥ "to drink (lit. *to* the making of a drink) water he goes to the lake."—415, *b*. 25. पानिपात्र लये जाय आनिवारे वारि ॥ "taking a water-vessel goes to fetch (lit. *to* the bringing) water."—*ib*. 40. भय पाये श्री कृष्णेरे डाकि गणवती ॥ "Feeling fear the virtuous woman invokes Sri Krishna."—416, *a*. 2. These examples have been taken from the first page that I happened to open; many hundreds of others may be culled from Bengali poems. It will be seen that in affixing this रे to nouns ending in mute *a*, an *e* is inserted; thus कृष्णेरे, instead of कृष्णरे. This practice results probably from the addition of the emphatic *e* to the singular nom., instances of which are common; thus Bidyâpati तैछन तुया अनुरागे ॥ "of such a kind is thy love."—*Pad*. 984. ए सखि काहे कहसि अनुयोगे ॥ कानु से अभि करवि प्रेमभोगे ॥ "Ah! dearest, why dost thou question? (lit. make the question). Even now thou shalt make the

[1] Calcutta edition, published by Maheshchandra Ghose, 317, Chitpore Road, 1872. The first number is the page, the letters *a* and *b* denote the column (there are two in each page), the last number is the line.

feast of love with Kânh."—*Ib.* This form is really the nom. plural; and when used in the singular, thus naturally carries the idea of abundance or emphasis—an idea, however, which soon faded, leaving the poets free to use the *e* pleonastically whenever it suited their metre.

The explanation of the origin of this form is, according to Trumpp, with whom I agree, to be sought for in connexion with that of Marathi, Nepali and the other languages using an affix whose characteristic is ल, to which we shall come presently.

The modern Bengali uses instead of ে the form কে. Now Bengali is very prone to softening *â* into *e*; in ordinary conversation one constantly hears this pronunciation (Vol. I. p. 142). Thus ছাড়িয়া দিলাম "I have abandoned," will most usually be so uttered as to sound *chhĕriyĕ dilĕm*. It may therefore be safely assumed that the affix কে is changed from an earlier কা, shortened from কাহ্ঁ, which we have above taken as the origin of কহ্ঁ, কাঁ, and কো.

Passing from the group whose characteristic is क, we come to that whose characteristic is ल, of which the most important member is Marathi. In that language the dative affix is ला, and in the earlier language लागीं and लागुनि, allied to which is the Nepali लाई, obtained by elision of the ग, whereas Marathi has rejected the whole of the last syllable.

From the root लग् there is a large host of derivative forms, both verbs and particles, in all the seven languages; and as the root means primarily "to stick," it would naturally be adopted to express the idea of nearness or adhesion, which is very suitable to the objective. The simplest form in which it occurs is perhaps Hindi लग, meaning "up to," "as far as;" but owing to the facility with which ल and न interchange, Hindi has in some rustic dialects an affix नें or नै, originally लें, used with the dative. This still survives in the neighbourhood of Delhi, as, for instance, in the proverb quoted by Elliot (Races of N. W. P., vol. i. p. 5):—

अपनी बोई आप खाएं हाकिम नें न दे दाना

"What they sow they eat themselves, and give not a grain to the ruler."

It also survives in G., which marks the objective by नें. The form नै is found in Chand:—

बालप्पन पृथिराज नैं ॥
निसि सुपनन्तर चिह्न ॥—iii. 3.

"In his youth *to* Prithirâj,
In a dream at night (came) a sign."

and

पृथिराज सुनि कुंअर नैं ॥
आप बुल्लाए हित ॥—v. 13.

"Hearing it, Prithirâj himself
Invited the prince kindly."

This is, I now think, the correct translation, though I formerly translated the passage otherwise (J. A. S. B., vol. xlii. p. 165), which translation led me into difficulties about the construction, which are obviated by taking कुंअर नैं as the objective.

Marathi has lengthened the vowel of the root, but Hindi has not; and it is to a participial form लगि, the meaning of which would be "adhering to," "close to," and finally "to," that we must attribute the present affix. लगि becomes लद्, and then लै, नै, and ने. The anuswâra would thus be an inorganic addition, common in Hindi. From लगुन, a regular Prakrit form of the relative participle, by a similar elision of ग and conversion of ल into न, comes the Panjabi objective नुं for नउं, where the final न has been weakened into anuswâra. Analogous to this is the form लौ, contracted from लगु, in Old-Hindi used in the sense of "up to," "until." Thus Kabir:

कहं लौ कहौं अचेते गयऊ ॥—Ramaini, s. 46.

"How far shall I tell (of them)? they have gone into unconsciousness."

literally "till where?" And again

तौ लौ तारा जगमगै जौ लौ उगै न सूर ॥
तौ लौ जिय जग कर्म बस जौ लौ ग्यान न पूर ॥

—Sakhi 201.

"So long (only) shines the star as the sun does not rise,
So long (only) do worldly works suffice as knowledge is not full;"

literally "until that (time) shines the star until which (time) the sun does not rise."

In a precisely similar way Chand uses लगि, as

कहां लगि लघुता वरनवौं ॥

"How long shall I describe my inferiority?"—i. 22.

The other change to which ल is subject, namely that into र, yields the Bengali objective रे.

In Gujarati works the affix of the objective is sometimes written without the anuswâra, and thus resembles one form of the genitive affix; but it will be shown hereafter that the resemblance is accidental only.

§ 57. The Instrumental. This case possesses a special importance in the seven languages, from the fact that in most of them, owing to the peculiar system of *prayoga* or construction which prevails, it takes the place of the nominative before verbs in the past tenses—a practice which makes these languages in this respect difficult to foreigners. In the cumbrous Marathi especially, the correct use of the *prayoga* is a sort of *pons asinorum* to beginners, and even in some instances to natives themselves. The forms of the instrumental are these:

Hindi	*ne.*
Panjabi	*nai.*
Marathi	*neṉ, eṉ, śíṉ*, pl. *níṉ, híṉ, śíṉ.*
Gujarati	*e.*
Nepali	*le.*

Sindhi has no form for this case, but uses the simple oblique or crude form without any affix; so also do the early and middle age Hindi poets, as will be shown in the latter part of this section. Gujarati, in addition to the *e*, which may also be regarded as originally merely the crude form, has also certain pleonastic affixes; thus it writes देवे करीने, देवे करी "by God," "by means of God," also देव थी, or देवे थी, which latter is strictly an ablative, and will be considered under that case.

Bengali uses the direct *prayoga* or construction in the past tenses of verbs, and has no need of an instrumental to take the place of the nominative; but when it requires to indicate instrumentality, the literary language employs such words as कर्तृक, करणक, द्वारा, पूर्ब्बक; while the common speech uses the participles of the verbs "to do" and "to give," करिया "having done," दिया "having given." Both high and low alike also borrow the affix of the locative ते, as in Gujarati the ablative.

Oṛiya, like Bengali, has only the direct *prayoga*, and, like it, supplies the place of an instrumental by द्वारा and similar words, and colloquially by देइ "having given," and such like words; but the instrumental is very rarely used in Oṛiya, the locative affix रे usually supplying its place.

The Gipsy uses *sa* in the singular and *ja* in the plural, but as a pure instrumental only, and not as a substitute for the nominative.

In those languages in which the past tense of the transitive verb requires the instrumental construction, the verb does not under those circumstances agree with the nominative case. There seems, however, to be an exception to this rule, if my informant, a Nepalese pandit, be correct, in the Nepali language. The pandit gives the past tense thus:

मै ले खायां "I ate,"	हामी ले खायुं "we ate."
तै ले खाइस "thou atest,"	तिमी ले खायौ "ye ate."
उस ले खायो "he ate,"	उनी ले खाया "they ate."

In this paradigm we see that the verb changes its termination in each person, whereas in Hindi it remains fixed, thus: **मैं ने खाया**, **तू ने खाया**, etc. The peculiarity of the Nepali usage is undoubtedly to be explained by the fact that this form of the instrumental has become so completely identified with the nominative as to be mistaken for it by the vulgar; and in all probability, as I shall endeavour to show, the use of the **ले** (= Hindi **ने**) is a mere modern custom, and originally the direct construction was used, and they said **म खायां**, **त खाइस**.

Although the question more strictly belongs to syntax, yet, in order to establish the correctness of the theory as to the origin of the instrumental affix which will be brought forward in this section, it will be advisable to give a brief description of the question of *prayogas* as they exist in the modern languages.

The *prayogas* are three in number: *kartari*, *karmaṇi*, *bhâve*, which may be Englished respectively, subjective, objective, and impersonal; and what they are will be understood from the following Latin phrases:

Kartâ. Rex urbem condidit.
Karma. A rege urbs condita.
Bhâva. A rege urbi conditum est.

In the first the verb agrees with the nominative case; in the second it agrees with the object, and the subject is in the instrumental; in the third the verb is impersonal and neuter, the subject in the instrumental, and the object is generally in the oblique form.

The *Kartâ prayoga* is generally employed in the present and future tenses; the other two in the past tenses. In Marathi the potential, however, takes the *Bhâva* as well as the *Kartâ*; and in all the languages except Marathi the *Karma* and *Bhâva* constructions are restricted to transitive verbs.

Having thus briefly stated the general system of construc-

tions, we return to the instrumental case of the noun, which, it will be seen, occupies the place of the subject in two of the constructions. It is, in the first place, necessary to observe, that in Gujarati there is an additional form of construction, in which the subject is in the dative case; and this is, strictly speaking, the *Karmaṇi* construction: for in native grammars the dative, as well as the accusative, goes by the name of *Karman* or *Karma*, just as we have in these pages called them both the objective. The construction with the instrumental would more accurately be called the *Karaṇe*, *Karaṇa* being the name for that case. Secondly, not only in so archaic a language as Gujarati is the dative used indifferently with the instrumental in the frequently occurring constructions noted above, but in Nepali the forms of the case-affixes are very similar, the dative having लाई, the instrumental ले; and the same similarity exists between the नें of the Old-Hindi objective and the ने of the Modern-Hindi instrumental; and so also, while नें is the sign of the dative-objective in Gujarati, it is the sign of the instrumental in Marathi. From these considerations it would seem to result that the two forms are identical in origin, and have been confounded with one another by the vulgar. For, as regards Hindi and Panjabi, certainly my own experience is, that the objective and impersonal constructions are never properly understood by the unlearned, and in the rustic dialects of the Eastern-Hindi area are more usually omitted altogether, and the direct or subjective construction employed.

It would be out of place here to go into more detail on a question of syntax; but it may be noticed that the participial form लगि, with its variant लागि, which is almost if not quite proved to be the origin of the case-affix नें, is often used with a very wide range of meanings, and with great laxity of application,—as is natural from its meaning, which may, without violence, be diverted to many uses. Thus in Old-Bengali it is used in the sense of "on account of," "for," as—

कि लागि सुंदरि वदन झापयसि ॥
हेरल चेतन मोर ॥—Bidyâpati in Pad.

"For what, O fair one, dost cover thy face?
It has ravished my senses."

It is, however, necessary to inform the reader, that the theory above stated is not the generally received one; or, as these languages have never yet been studied scientifically, it would be more accurate to say that it is not the theory held by the few scholars who have looked into the question. Trumpp probably means his remark upon p. 113 to be taken as a mere *obiter dictum*, and it seems not to have occurred to him that there were serious objections to his derivation. He and others state that the affix ने, with its variants, is derived from the case-ending of the Sanskrit. The instrumental in Sanskrit ends in *ena* in the case of *a*-stems; and down to a late stage of classical Prakrit, this ending is preserved, and occurs even in Chand in Gâthâ passages, and, as stated in § 48, survives in Marathi as एं, where the final न has been weakened to anuswâra. In Gujarati, also, the *e* of the instrumental has been mentioned in the above-quoted section as a quasi-synthetical termination; but it will be observed that this *ena* loses its *n*, and that we cannot in any way get ने out of it, unless we suppose a termination नेन to start with, which does not exist. In general, the modern languages, throwing aside the complications of the various Sanskrit inflections, adopt those of the *a*-stem only, and the few traces of the synthetic system that still survive are, without exception, to be referred to that stem. We should hardly be justified in looking to the terminations of any other stem for the origin of modern forms; nor in this case would it much help us if we did: for, in all but the *a*-stem, the instrumental termination is आ; and although in masc. or neuter stems ending with a vowel an न् is inserted, making the whole termination ना, yet this न् is regarded by Bopp, i. § 158, as euphonic only, and not an

organic portion of the word. Even from ना, however, we could not get the anuswâra of नें; and if this affix were really, as the theory assumes, a relic of an old synthetical case-ending, we should certainly find it in full force from the earliest times; whereas, on the contrary, the modern origin of ने as an instrumental with the objective construction, has struck many scholars, and is, I believe, now generally admitted. Some instances may here be adduced of this construction in the older poets to show that they did not use an affix नें or ने as an instrumental.

Chand uses the direct or subjective construction even with the preterite of transitive verbs; thus—

दुह बार बुझ्यौ राज ॥
दुज दियौ न उतर काज ॥—Pr. R. i. 49.

"Ten times the King asked,
The Brahmin gave no answer in the matter."

—where, in modern classical Hindi, we should have राजा ने पूछा and द्विज ने दिया.

Where the subject is a pronoun, it is often put in the oblique crude form, and the verb agrees with the object, as—

तिन रच्चा कीनी सु दुज ॥—i. 136.

"He protected the Brahmins."

Here तिन is plural oblique, and कीनी the old form of the preterite fem. of करना, agreeing with रच्चा; again—

जिहि रचे सुरग भू सत्त पाताल ॥—i. 11.

"Who made heaven, earth, the seven hells."

The various nouns agree with रचे, which is neuter plural; while जिहि, the subject, is oblique singular. In the passage above quoted, i. 49, occur two lines close to each other, each with a different construction—

जिहि हत्यो अप्प मो तात गर ॥

"He who killed the snake on my father's neck."

and in the next line but one जो हत्यो अप्प. In the first we have the agent in the oblique जिहि; in the second it is in the nominative जो—

सुद्ध चाव चंदेल सु कीनौ ॥

यह परिमाल लिष्यौ करि दीनौ ॥—xxi. 124.

"Good speed the Chandel made,

(Saying) 'Parimál hath written this,' he gave it into his hand."

Here the agent is in the nom. singular, although the verbs कीनौ and दीनौ, being both preterites of transitive verbs, would in Modern-Hindi require the objective construction.

Coming down to later times, we find Kabir employing the oblique construction without ने.

जिन्ह कलिमा कलि माह पढाया ॥

कुदरत षोजि तिन्हैं नहि पाया ॥—Ramaini, 38.

"He who taught the *Kalama* in the Kali Yug,

Having searched, did not find the power (of Allah)."

जिन्ह and तिन्हैं are both plural oblique; but the construction is irregular, as the Arabic words كلمة *kalama* and قُدرت *kudrat* are both feminine, and we should expect पढाई and पाई.

Perhaps it would be unfair to expect such a refinement from the weaver-sage, who wrote his language as he found it, without troubling himself much about the words he used. The fact that Kabir was a man of the people, and not a pandit, gives us great confidence in his writings as evidence for the way the ordinary folk of those days talked; and this confidence would be greater could we be sure that his writings had not been tampered with by meddling scribes. Again, he uses the direct construction in

मसि कागद छूयो नही कलम गही नहि हाथ ॥
चारो जुग माहात्म जेहि कबिर जनायो नाथ ॥

—Sakhi 183.

"Kabir touched not ink or paper, he took not pen in hand;
He made known the lord to whom is glory in the four ages."

Here **कबिर** is nominative to the three transitive preterites **छूयो** "touched," **नही** "took," and **जनायो** "made known;" and with regard to the first verb, its objects are **मसि**, which is *fem.*, and **कागद** (كاغذ), which is *masc.*; the second verb has for its object **कलम** (قلم), which for some reason is always *fem.* in Hindi, and the verb is *fem.* also, and thus agrees with its object. It must be observed, however, that the word *Kabir* would, if treated as a Hindi word, have the same form in the oblique as in the nominative, and we may thus fairly regard it as oblique in this place. The verbs would then all regularly agree with their objects, as in the Karmaṇi construction; in which case, if Kabir had known of the modern use of **ने** as a sign of the instrumental, he would doubtless have used it. Another—

मै रोयो सब जगत को मोको रोवै न कोइ ॥
मो को रोवै सो जना जो सब्द विवेकी होइ ॥

—Sakhi 176.

"I have wept for all the world, no one weeps for me,
That man weeps for me who contemplates the word."

Here **मै**, though used in Modern-Hindi as a nominative, has not yet lost its true force as instrumental of the first personal pronoun, of which **हौं** (अहम्) is the true nominative.

The use of **ने** as an instrumental is quite unknown to Behari Lal, in whose Satsâî it does not occur once. Tulsi Das is equally ignorant of it, as—

जब रघुनाथ समर रिपु जीते ॥

"When Raghunath conquered his enemies in battle."—*Araṇya-k.* 265.

Without prolonging this inquiry by adducing any more

examples, it may be said, as a general deduction from the practice of the Old-Hindi poets, that they are ignorant of the use of ने as an instrumental case-affix, and use the objective construction, as a rule, with the oblique form of the noun, indicated, where there is any oblique form, by the affix *e*; and that in this respect Sindhi, Gujarati, and, as far as we know anything about it, Old-Panjabi, agree with Hindi, while one at least of the Marathi forms of this case is a relic of the Sanskrit instrumental. It would thus appear that, on the decay of the synthetical system, and the fusion of all the case-endings thereof into the one oblique form of the analytical system, no trace of the instrumental as a separate case remained, and its place was supplied by the objective for many centuries. A partial revival of this case took place at a later period, probably about the reign of Shah Jahan, when the form नें, hitherto used for the dative, began gradually to be extended to the noun when used as the subject of a transitive verb in the past tense, and thus ने came in High-Hindi to be used as an instrumental.

The reason for fixing the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the period when this innovation occurred is, that, as my learned friend Professor Blochmann[1] has shown, it was about that time that the general admission of Hindus to offices under the Empire began to bear fruit in the Persianized form of Hindi which we call Urdu; and this new phase of the language was based, to a great extent, on the dialect of Hindi spoken in the provinces adjacent to the Court, in which the form नें was in use as a dative.

Marathi supplies yet another argument in favour of the theory now under discussion. In that language the instru-

[1] I wish to take this opportunity of paying my tribute of respect to this profound scholar, whose knowledge of all that pertains to the Court and Government of the brilliant Mughal dynasty of India is singularly minute and accurate, and whose splendid edition and translation of the "Aín Akbari" is the most valuable contribution to our information on this subject that has yet appeared, displaying an industry, depth of research, and range of knowledge, worthy of the highest admiration.

mental in एं, which has been shown to be a relic of the Sanskrit एन, is felt to be too weak by itself to express the instrumental relation proper, as distinguished from the merely constructive instrumental; and where direct instrumentality is required to be expressed, we find a case-affix added: thus, "by means of a weapon," is शस्त्रें करून, where शस्त्रें alone is not felt to be explicit enough. On the other hand, नें, so far from being felt to be an old half-abraded synthetical case-ending, is recognized as a distinct word, and has even yet hardly taken its place as a case-affix, but is often used as a postposition attached to the genitive case: thus we have such forms as त्याचा नें = "by him," where त्याचा is genitive masculine. It must be borne in mind that there are three grades of formative additions to a noun in these languages. First, and oldest, those affixes which are remains of the Sanskrit case-endings and are fully and completely incorporated with the stem and inseparable from it. Second, and next in point of time, those affixes which have been adopted to supply the place of case-endings when these latter had become so much abraded as no longer to mark case-relations with sufficient accuracy, and which are not integral portions of the stem-word, but are attached to its oblique form. Third, and latest, those adverbs, particles, and postpositions which are recognized as independent words, and are attached to the stem-word after it has already received its case-affix. It will be seen that the degree of coherence of these three grades is exactly in proportion to their antiquity. Consequently, when we find नें in the third of these categories, we cannot admit it to be a relic of the synthetical system, because, if it were, it would be in the first category.

Marathi has plural forms for all its methods of forming the instrumental: thus—

Singular एं has pl. ईं and हीं.
„ नें „ „ नीं.
„ शीं „ „ शीं.

In this particular, popular usage seems to have extended to all three affixes a plural which was originally appropriate only to one; and the use of ह्यीं in the singular is parallel to that of the ablative form ह्न, which, as shown in § 51, has been extended to the singular from being originally plural only: for ह्यीं must be taken to be originally a plural also. The form हीं is a synthetical relic, being merely a lengthening of the Prakrit हिं, Sanskr. भिस् (Lassen, p. 310); ह्यीं is more correctly written सीं, and is, I think, another instance of the connexion between the instrumental and the dative. Such a word as देवाह्यीं, or देवासीं, "by a god," would correctly be divided देवास + हीं (for हीं), and not देवा + सीं. Hoernle has shown (J. A. S. B. vol. xlii. p. 61) that the form देवासाठीं, used as a dative in Marathi poetry, has similarly been treated as though it were देवा + साठीं, which is erroneous, as there is no such word as साठीं. The word should be divided देवास + आठीं; the latter word being a Prakrit form of अर्थे "on account of." In these two cases we have a construction exactly parallel to that of त्याच्या नें above, where the affixes are only in the third degree of cohesion, and are attached to the genitive of the noun: for, as explained above, § 52, देवास, though now used as a dative, is really देवस्स = Skr. देवस्य. Lastly, for the confusion still existing between the two cases may be cited the curious construction still common in Panjabi in such phrases as उस नै आउणा सा = "he was to have come," literally "by *or* to him to come it was"="illi veniendum erat," or "ab illo veniendum erat," where we may call उस नै a dative or an instrumental, as we please. Native grammarians call it the latter.

The above considerations leave no doubt in my own mind of the truth of the theory that the forms of the instrumental case-affix now in use are originally datives which have been transferred to the instrumental. Other similar cases of the affixes of one case having passed over to another will be met with as we go through the remaining affixes.

§ 58. The Ablative.—The terminations of this case in Sindhi and Marathi have already been shown to be remains of old synthetic case-endings. Marathi has no other method of expressing the sense of "from;" but it, like all the other languages, uses the oblique form of the noun, together with a long string of affixes, or rather postpositions, to express meanings which it has been customary with grammarians roughly to class together under the head of ablative.

Strictly speaking, however, the ablative is that case which expresses procession from, or, as it is called by Sanskrit grammarians, अपादानं; and I shall here therefore only notice those affixes which convey the meaning "from." These are—

Hindi	तें, ते, थी.
Panjabi . . .	ते.
Sindhi	खां, खीं, खीं.
Gujarati . . .	थी.
Oriya	रु.

Bengali has no form for the ablative, but uses a postposition हइते, which has been explained above, § 51. The origin of the form ते appears to be the Skr. adverbial ablative तस्, as in ग्रामतस् "from the village," in Pr. तो, where the *o* has been softened through *á* to *e*. In Chand it is often written तें, as—

ता कें कुल तें उप्पनौ ॥

"From his race sprung."—i. 164.

तुम कहौ करूं जीव तें वध ॥

"Say ye (and) I make him slain from life."—i. 178.

(*i.e.* give the word and I kill him).

I think the anuswàra here is merely an inorganic addition, as it so frequently is. Concerning the origin of थी, there is much obscurity. No scholar, as far as I know, has as yet thrown any light on it. The most probable supposition is, that it is of the

same origin as ते, but with the particle हि added, so that थी would stand for तही, the vowel being lengthened. This appears to be Vans Taylor's idea (Gujarati Grammar, p. 64); but he seems also to think the form may have arisen from a fusion of the two forms of the Prakrit ablative in आतु, आदु, and हि, which is possible, but not probable, as आतु is too old a form, having passed into आऊ and आउ before the period of the origin of Gujarati.

For the Sindhi खां, etc., Trumpp offers no satisfactory account, merely remarking that it is allied to the objective sign खे (क्रते), but with the termination of the ablative आं, ओं, etc., added. More will be said on this point when considering the postpositions.

The Oriya रु appears in this form in the earliest documents we possess, and a fuller form ठारु is common in modern times. It will not, I think, be contested that we have here the Prakrit ablative in आदु; so that the forms would be Skr. स्थानात्, Pr. ठाणादु, ठाणडु, ठारु.

The Hindi affix से, usually applied to the ablative in modern writings, does not really mean "from," but "with," and comes under the head of postpositions; but as it is now used as a case-affix,—that is, with the oblique form of the noun, and not, as pure postpositions are, attached to the genitive or other case,—it will be better to consider it here. से is softened from an older form सें, still used constantly in the rustic dialects of Hindi, and this leads us back to the full form सम, which is the Sanskrit adverb समं "with." Chand uses it after verbs of speaking, just as से is used in Modern-Hindi—

कहै दूत प्रिथिराज सम ॥

"Quoth the messenger to Prithirâj."—xii. 16.

कहै कंति सम कंत ॥

"Quoth the wife to the husband."—i. 7.

in which latter instance it precedes the noun to which it belongs.

Sindhi has forms सां, and सें; Gujarati थी or थे, used in poetry in the general sense of "with," though in some grammars erroneously called a locative, probably also belongs to this group; and in Old-Hindi we meet with an intermediate form सन, to which correspond the Sindhi forms साणु and सेणु. In Old-Bengali we meet with सने, which, however, is probably for संगे, the form used in the modern language. Thus Chaṇḍi Dâs (A.D. 1460) has—

यमुनार कुले कदम्बेर मूले मिलिल श्यामेर सने ॥—Pad. 1307, 26.

"On the banks of Yamunâ, beneath the Kadamba tree, she met with Shyâma."

and Kâśi Dâs (Mahâbhârat 415, *b.* 6):

कार सने वने युद्ध करे तिन जने ॥

"With whom in the forest fight the three men?"

Tulsi Dâs uses सन in his Ramayan frequently—

तेहि सन याज्ञवलक्य पुनि पावा ॥

"With him Yâjnavalkya afterwards found (it)."—Bâla-kând. 14.

मैं पुनि निज गुरु सन सुनि ॥

"I afterwards having heard it with my own guru."—*ib.*

त्रिजटा सन बोली कर जोरी ॥

"She spake with Trijaṭâ, clasping her hands together."

—Sundar-kând. 300.

§ 59. The Genitive.—In all the seven languages, and in most of the subordinate dialects, the system that prevails for this case is to add to the oblique form particles which vary their terminations so as to agree with the governing noun. In other words, the genitive case-affix is adjectival, and agrees with the governing noun just as an adjective would, so that, as has been frequently remarked, the construction is not that of the Latin *patris equus*, but that of *paternus equus*. Bengali and Oriya having lost all gender and all means of marking the oblique form, have also rejected as useless the adjectival form of the

genitive; but it will be shown that the affixes which they use are closely allied to those used in some of the other languages. The forms are as follows:

Hindi	*kā*.	Marathi	*chā*.
Panjabi	*dā*.	Bengali	*er*.
Sindhi	*jo*.	Oriya	*ar*.
Gujarati	*no*.		

The first five languages inflect this form. Thus Hindi has का, के, की; Panjabi दा, दे, दी, दिआं; and so with the others. Bengali and Oriya remain unchanged; and omitting them for the present, it will be seen that the principle of making the genitive case of the noun into an adjective runs through all the other five. It also prevails in the allied dialects. Thus Marwari has रो, रे, etc.; Mewari ळो; the Konkani dialect of Marathi लो, ली, लें, etc., as well as चो, ची, चें;[1] Kashmiri संद्, संद्, संज, etc.

The genitive is the most difficult of all the cases to account for; and, as there has lately been considerable discussion about it between high authorities, one cannot but approach the knotty subject with some trepidation, taking as our starting-point the modern Hindi forms का, के, की. When the governing noun is masc. singular nominative, the genitive takes the affix का, as बापका घोडा "the horse of the father." The affix की is used when the governing noun is feminine, no matter what be its number or case, as बाप की घोडी "the mare of the father;" बाप की घोडीयां "the father's mares." When the governing noun is masculine, but not in the nominative singular, के is used, as बाप के घोडे को मारा "he beat the father's horse." Hindi has only these three forms, and the reason of this is, that its adjective is not inflected any more than this (see § 56).

It may next be noticed that there is evidence to show that a letter र has dropped out of all these forms.

[1] Cunha-Rivarà, Grammatica da lingua Concani (Goa, 1859), p. 38.

The Bhojpuri, a widely-spoken rustic dialect of Bihar in the eastern Hindi area, has in its pronoun of the third person the genitive affixes **करा**, **करे**, though I have never heard **करो**. With this agrees the language of the Chinganas or Gipsies of Turkey, whose genitive is formed by *koro*, which does not change for gender or number, though the closely allied adjective in *koro*, which Paspati (Tchingianés, p. 53) distinguishes from the genitive, does. Thus, Balames*koro* manush, "a Greek man," Balames*keri* gaji, "a Greek woman."

The Marwari dialect, as spoken in the present day, uses, as mentioned above, the forms **रो**, **रे**, **री**: thus **आयो मैं रामगढ रो वाणो राजारो फोतादार** "Here come I the merchant of Ramgarh, the Raja's treasurer;" **फोतादारी करी राजरो जीमुं पदवी पाई** "I hold the treasurership of the kingdom, from which I have acquired dignity."[1]

Nepali has **को** = H. **का**; **का** = H. **के**; and **की** = H. **की**. Nepali having set up as a distinct language on the formation of the Hindu kingdom of Kâṭhmâṇḍo in A.D. 1322, we should expect to find it perpetuating the Hindi of the date when it separated from the parent stock, and we are thus led to conclude that, as early as the fourteenth century, the **र** had dropped out of many rustic dialects as regards the noun; while as regards the pronoun, it is retained in all of them to the present day; and, with the exception of M. and S., the genitive of all the personal pronouns in all the languages of this group is formed by an affix whose typical letter is **र**.

One step further back from modern times takes us to our only authorities for mediæval Hindi—the poets. These eccentric gentlemen are very fond of omitting case-affixes altogether, and stringing in one line a number of nouns in their crude form, leaving the reader to make sense of them as best he may. I am not here alluding to Chand, but to writers far more modern than he, as Tulsi Dâs and Bihari Lal. When, however, they do

[1] Marwari Khyâls, p. 3, ed. by Rev. J. Robson, Beawr, 1866.

condescend to use case-affixes, they use several separate sets of forms.

First, and commonest, are the forms now in modern use: का, के, की; but of these का is generally and in the best editions written को or कौ. From this we gather that this affix, whatever its origin, is undoubtedly an adjective of old standing, the form को being the older form of the masculine nominative of *a*-stems, which always end in *o* in Prakrit, and still retain this *o* in G. नो and S. जो, as well as in Konkani चो. Examples are:

कौ जारा नगर निमिष माहीं
एक विभीषण कौ घर नाहीं ॥—Sundar-kând. 305.
"He burnt the city in a moment,
Only not the house *of* Vibhîshan."

की जिन्ह की कीन्हिसि अमित वडाई ॥—*ib.*
"Of whom he has made unlimited boasting."

कै सुनऊ विभीषण प्रभु कै रीती ॥—*ib.* 298.
"Hear, O Vibhîshan, the lord's custom."

In this last instance रीती, though feminine, has the masculine oblique form of the genitive; and this would seem to show that कै was used with the oblique of both genders, for रीती is here the objective, though without the case-sign.

A few instances may be taken from the Bhaktamâla of Nâbhaju (circa A.D. 1600, the ṭîkâ is a little later):—

आये वामदेव पाछें पूछे नामदेव जू सों दूध को प्रसंग अति रंग भर भाखियें ॥—Bh. 133, 1, *ṭîka.*
"Came Vamdeb afterwards, he asked Namdevjû, 'Tell me in full the very pleasant account of the milk.'"

कोक काव्य नवरस सरस शृंगार को सागर ॥
"A new zest in amorous poetry, an ocean of impassioned love."
—*ib.* 44, *mûl.*

नरसिंघ को अनुकरण होई हिरनाकुस मार्यो ॥
"In imitation of Narsingha, he smote Hiranakus (Hiranyakaśipu)."
—*ib.* 49, *mûl.*

Extremely common in Tulsi Dâs is the form **कर**; this is noticeable because affording a connexion with the Bhojpuri **°करा** and the Gipsy *koro*. It is not declinable, and does not therefore make the genitive into an adjective. Instances abound, the following are a few:—

कपि कर वचन सप्रेम सुनि ॥

"Hearing the friendly speech *of* the monkey."—Sundar-kând. 300.

सब कर आजु सुकृत फल बीता ॥

"To-day the fruit of the good deeds *of* all has passed away."—Ay.-k. 343.

बेगि हरहु मूढ कर प्राणा ॥

"Quickly take away (this) fool's life."—Sundar-k. 304.

In some copies a feminine form **करि** occurs; but this is written **कर** in others.

कपि करि ममता पूंछ पर ॥

"The pride of a monkey is in his tail."—Sundar-k. 304.

श्रवण सुनत शठता करि बाणी ॥

"Hearing with his ears the word of treachery."—*ib.* 309.

Kabir uses this form—

नहि कछु होति दिवस अरु राती ॥
ताकर कहहु कौन कुल जाती ॥

"There was there no day nor night,
Of him (*i.e.* the Creator) tell what is the race and caste?"
—Ram. vi. 5.

It is not, however, frequent in his poems; and, when it occurs, is chiefly used with the pronouns, as in the lines just quoted.

At this point comes in Bengali with its genitive in **एर्**, which, like Tulsi Dâs's genitive in **कर्**, does not change for gender or case. In Old-Bengali this case takes the affix **कर्**, which still survives in certain adjectivally used forms; but, in accordance with modern Bengali pronunciation, now takes long *á*, and becomes **कार्**. Thus they say, **आजिकार** "of to-day," **कालिकार** "of to-morrow," or "yesterday," in such phrases as

"your letter of to-day has arrived," "the affair of yesterday;" also तथाकार, एथाकार "of that place," "of this place." The Oṛiya genitive in अर् also belongs to this category. In the singular it has lost its क, because in Oṛiya the final *a* of stems ending in that letter is preserved, so that we must read घर *ghara*, not, as in H. or P., *ghar*. From this it results that when the affix कर् was added, the क stood alone between two vowels, and was, according to the general rule, elided. It ought to have thus produced *ghara+ar=gharâr;* but the tendency of Oṛiya is to shortening unaccented vowels, and, whatever may have been the place of incidence of the accent in ancient times, in the present day it is certainly on the stem-syllable in *ghárar*. Consequently, instead of *gharâr*, we get *gharar*. In Bengali the same thing occurred, and the present form of the genitive in *er* is, in all probability, another exemplification of the often-remarked tendency of this language to corrupt *â* into *e*. This view is supported by the fact that, in many cases where custom had previously led to the rejection of the final *a* of the stem, the genitive even in Bengali is formed by *ar*, as in Oṛiya. If further confirmation were needed of this origin of the र् genitive, it would be found in the Oṛiya plural, where the क is still preserved. Oṛiya, as above noted, § 43, adds to the stem the word मान, to form the plural. This word takes in the nom. the form माने for animate, and मान for inanimate objects; and in the oblique मानन्, which is probably for माननि, like the Old-Hindi plural. Adding to मानन् the genitive form कर्, we get the modern Oṛiya genitive मानङ्कर, wherein the क has been preserved, quite according to rule, by being incorporated with the preceding nasal. Bidyapati sings—

कुलकामिनी छिनु कुलटा भैगेनु ताकर वचन लोभाइ।—Pad. 984, 5.

"I was a virtuous woman, I have become unchaste through delighting in *his* words."

In his poetry, however, as in Kabir's, this form is more

frequently met with in the pronouns; in the genitive of nouns he generally drops the र, and uses only क: as—

सुजनक प्रीति पाषाण सम रेहा ॥—Pad. 985, 2.

"The love *of* a good man is like a line (engraved on) stone."

प्रेमक गुण कहब सब कोइ ॥—Pad.

"Every one will say (it is) the quality of love."

थिक्कने बाढत मृणालक सूत ॥—Pad. 109, 6.

"It increases like the fibres of the lotus."

To be classed together with these forms is, I apprehend, the Marathi affix कर, denoting "a resident of," as in चिपलुंकर "a man of Chiplun." Here also I would place the Marwari रो, where the initial क has been rejected, and the still further corrupted Mewari छो, and Konkani लो.

Passing on from कर and its variations, we must come to a fuller form केरा, केरी. This was first pointed out as a genitive by Hoernle in his articles in the Journ. As. Soc. B., and I have since found additional confirmation of his view from other instances. The two passages which were first noticed are in Chand.

कियौ नद नीसान फौजें सु फेरी ॥
भिदी दिष्टि सौं दिष्टि चाङ्गवान केरी ॥—xxi. 29, 9.

"The kettle-drum made a noise, the armies wheeled,
The sight *of the* Châhuvân was lost from view."

That is, the two armies lost sight of each other from the dust they raised. The second passage is very obscure, and the rendering is tentative only; there is, however, no doubt about the genitive.

दौरै गज अंधं चाङ्गवान केरौ ॥
करीयं गिरदनं चिहौं चक्क फेरौ ॥—xx. 141, 7.

"Blindly ran the elephant *of* the Châhuvân;
Making a circuit, he surrounded (the enemy) on all four sides."

There are other passages also where this form occurs. In fact, it is used whenever a rhyme is wanted for the preterite of

फेरना "to turn." Kabir, however, uses it in the middle of a verse :—

मानस केरि अघाइ या मति कोई पैठि धाइ ॥
कुइ पेते चरत है बाघ गदहरा गाइ ॥—Sakhi 153.

"The society *of* human beings, into that let no one hastily plunge;
In one field feed the tiger, the ass, and the cow."

तामस केरे तीन गुन भौंर लेइ तह वास ॥
एकै डारी तीनि फल भांटा ऊष कपास ॥—Sakhi 142.

"*Of* ignorance are three qualities, the bee (*i.e.* life) has there taken up his abode;
On one branch three fruits, the brinjal, sugar-cane, and cotton."[1]

सावन केरा मेघरा बुंद परा असमान ॥
सब दुनिया वैष्णव भई गुरून लाग्यो कान ॥—Sakhi 77.

"(As from) the clouds *of* Srâvan drops fall from the sky,
All the world has become Vaishnava, giving ear to the *gurus*."

(Here असमान = آسمان, दुनिया = دُنیا). Tulsi Dâs also knows this affix, thus—

भये बहुत दिन अति अवसेरी ॥
सगुन प्रतीति भेंट प्रिय केरी ॥—Ayodhyâ-k. 53.

"For many days there was great expectation,
Omens and certainty *of a* meeting with the friend."

सुनि अस उक्ति पवन सुत केरी ॥
बिहसे रघुपति कपि तन हेरी ॥—Lankâ-k. 6.

"Hearing this speech *of the* son of the wind,
Smiles Raghupati looking at the monkey's body."

धूआं देखि खर दूषण केरा ॥—Araṇya-k. 265.

"Seeing the smoke of (the bodies of) Khara and Dûshaṇa."

The form केरो, with its changes for gender and case, is also

[1] This is one of Kabir's obscure didactic utterances. He means that ignorance, or rather the condition of unassisted human nature, has the three qualities of *sattva*, *rajah*, and *tamah*, in which life, compared to a bee among flowers, is sunk. It is, he says, as if one branch should bear such different products as those mentioned.

in use in Old-Gujarati, and the range of forms is fuller than in Hindi; thus we have—

	M.	F.	N.
With a n. sing.	केरो	केरी	केरुं.
„ n. pl.	केरा	id.	केरां.
„ oblique	केरा and केरे	id.	केरा and केरे.

Illustrations are—

चंपक केरो बेटडो ॥ मे राखो छे घेर ॥

Samul Das, Padmavati, 64.[1]

"I have kept at home the son *of* Champak."

हुकम होय हजूरी केरो शोषी नाखुं वाधो सायर ॥

"Let there be an order *of* Your Majesty, I will suck the sea dry."

—*id. Angadavishthi* in *Kávya-d.* i. 23.

जाह्नवी केरा तरंग तजीने तटमां जाइ कूप खादे रे

"Having left the waves of Ganges, he goes on to the bank and drinks from a well."

—*Narsingh Meheta* in *Kávya-d.* ii. 4.

It is a well-known and frequently used affix in Gujarati.

To complete the range of illustrations, I may add here a remark which was accidentally omitted from its right place a page or two back, that Bidyapati's genitive in क, formed by omitting the र of कर, is also found in Old-Hindi. Thus, Tulsi Dâs has—

पितु आयसु सब धरम क टीका ॥—Ay.-k. 334.

"(To obey) a father's command is the crown of virtue."

And it occurs in Chand:—

हरि सु उद्धरै छिनक महि ॥

"Hari can save in an instant."—i. 60.

In this place महि is = मध्ये, and is used in the third grade of cohesion with the genitive of the governed noun, so that छिनक is a genitive (छिन = क्षण), and क is shortened from करु or करा.

[1] From Leeky's Gujarati Grammar, p. 250.

The various facts that have been adduced have brought us up to the edge of the gap of the dark ages; and, before leaving *terra firma* for the region of analogy and the cloudland of inference, it may be as well to sum up what we have gained.

Hindi forms its genitive by affixes which produce an adjectival construction; these are का, के, की. Of these का is written को in Nepali, and in many rustic dialects, also in mediæval poetry.

Bhojpuri has a pronominal genitive in करा, करे. Marwari has रो, रे, री. Tulsi Dâs and other writers have कर, with a feminine करि, which is doubtful. Oriya has कर in the genitive plural, and ङ्कर in that of the singular, which latter is due, as is also the Marwari रो, to loss of the क. Bengali had कर in pronouns, and has कार still in certain adjectival formations; and its present genitive एर् is formed from कर् by loss of क and softening of the *â* (resulting from the coalition of the final *a* of the stem with the initial *a* of the termination) into *e*, *more suo*. The gipsies have preserved the क and the र both in their genitive *koro*, which, when used as an adjective, has a feminine *keri*.

Old-Hindi and Gujarati have a fuller form of this genitive affix—केरा, केरी, केरे.

Beyond these facts, there is, as far as we know, nothing further to be adduced; and the question now is, what is the origin of these forms? The form केरो is found in one of those scraps of Apabhranśa saws which Śastri Vrajlal has quoted in his admirable little work. He unfortunately does not give the author's name, and gives the date as Samvat 1551 (A.D. 1495), which is very modern for Apabhranśa; but the language of the lines is older than this date:—

छासी केरो आफरो दासी केरो नेह ॥
कंवल केरो वंधणो झटिकि देखाडइ छेह ॥

"Constipation at eighty-six, falling in love with one's female slave,
Wrapping oneself in a blanket, show that death is near."

This might pass for Old-Hindi or Old-Gujarati; and it is noteworthy that the language is precisely identical with that which

Hemachandra writes about as a Prakrit. It may, therefore, be permitted to us to regard the form केरो as one which ascends into the Prakrit stage, or that of decaying but still existent synthetical forms, and it is consequently a form which has not yet become a mere affix, but still retains something of the nature of an independent word, and, as such, has a meaning of its own. We shall see, as we go further back in point of time, that in a slightly earlier age this word is capable of being used alone as an integral constituent portion of a sentence.

There has lately been a controversy between Hoernle and Pischel on this very subject; and in a work like this, which professes to lay before the reader such deductions as the author has been able to make from his own observation, and such facts as are generally admitted by scholars, it would be out of place to enter into a lengthened argument upon questions which are still *sub judice*. After reading and testing as far as I am able the arguments of both sides, the conclusion that I have come to in my own mind is that Hoernle is right, and that the objections of Pischel refer rather to details than to the general argument. The reader may judge for himself, either from the original articles (J. A. S. B., pt. i. p. 124, 1872; Indian Antiquary, vol. ii. pp. 121, 210, 368), or from the following brief, but I trust accurate, abstract of the arguments.

The Prakrits have a word *kera*, which is used in the plays in the sense of "done by," "connected with," "belonging to," and the like. It is to this word that the genitival form केरो is referred by the writers above mentioned. It also occurs as *keraka*. Hoernle derives it from the Skr. past participle कृत; Pischel, following Lassen and Weber, derives it from *kârya*. Hoernle's process is as follows: कृत becomes in Prakrit करितो, just as भृत becomes भरितो and धृत changes to धरितो; then the त drops out according to rule, leaving करिओ, which is the same word under a slightly different method of spelling as Chand's कर्यौ, a form in use all through mediæval Hindi.

करिओ or कर्यो makes केरो just as naturally as आश्चर्य makes अच्छेरो through अच्छरिओ (see Vol. I. p. 135). Pischel seems to mistake Hoernle's meaning, and to labour under the disadvantage of knowing nothing of the modern languages. A question like this is not to be settled, like a matter of Greek or Latin scholarship, merely by collating texts of written works. He urges that *keraka* is far too modern to have undergone "so vast and rapid" a change as that into Bengali *er*. But, unless the whole of this work which I am engaged on is wrong, the most striking feature of the seven languages is precisely the "vast and rapid" change which they have undergone; and, in this particular instance, a change that took fifteen centuries to effect is hardly too rapid. He relies on Lassen (p. 118), who, however, admits that his reason for doubting the derivation of केरक from कृत is merely the absence of an ऋ which could form ए in the first syllable by epenthesis. Hoernle has shown how this might be, and has proved the existence of intermediate forms करितो and करिओ. The derivation from कार्य is a sort of *pis aller*, a casual thought which appears to have occurred to Lassen when he was hunting for an analogy to *áścharya=achchhero*. It does not seem to have struck him or Pischel that the meaning of *káryam* will not in any way produce a genitive, while that of *kṛita* will. *Kṛita* means "done;" and to take as an instance the line of Tulsi Dâs quoted above, कपि कर वचन = कपिकृतं वचनं "the speech made by the monkey," is a phrase which would easily glide into "the speech of the monkey," while the phrase कपिकार्यं वचनं would require to have its meaning violently wrenched before it could be got to mean anything of the kind. I cannot perceive the drift of Pischel's objection founded on the fact that *keraka* is always inflected. Of course it is, and so is its descendant Gujarati केरो, केरो, etc.; and it is this very quality of being inflected that makes it suitable for an adjectival genitive affix. It is further urged that in the later Prakrit dialects *keraka* becomes *kelaka*. This does not concern us, because the later

written Prakrits are as artificial as Sanskrit itself, and probably were utterly unlike the spoken language.

It may then, as a conclusion, be safely stated that Skr. कृतम् becomes in Pr. करिओ, then केरो and केरको, from which we get केरओ and केरो, and that from this, shortened into करा, comes the Mod.-Hindi का; while from कर, rejecting the final vowel as useless, in the two languages which have dispensed with gender and case, the Bengali forms ऋर् and एर् and the Oriya ऋर् and कर् are derived. It is possible that the Mewari छो and Konkani लो may be similarly derived from केलक; but I prefer to regard them as modifications of an original रो, such as we have in Marwari.

Gujarati has for its genitive affix a series—नो, नी, नुं, etc. The early form of this affix, which is found also in Apabhranśa, is तणो, तणी, तणुं. Instances are—

ध्यान धर हरितणुं अल्पमति आलमू ॥

"Fix thy thoughts *on* Hari, O thou of little wit, indolent."

—Narsingh Meheta, Kâvya-d. ii. 1.

(Literally, "grasp the meditation *of* Hari.")

सरस गुण हरितणा जे जनो अनुसर्या ।
तेतणा सुजश तो जगत वोले ॥

"The man who has cultivated the excellent virtues *of* Hari,
The world celebrates *his* glory."—*ib.*

द्रूपदी केरि लज्जातणे कारणे द्वारिका थी धश्या एक श्वासे ॥

"On account of the shame of Drupadi, he rushed from Dwârikâ in a breath."—*ib.* ii. 5.

In this line both forms of the genitive are used, that with केरी and that with तणे. Another instance from the Apabhranśa was quoted in § 46. Another is—

महाराज लंका तणो एम भाखे ।

"The King of Lankâ thus speaks."—*ib.* i. 16.

Side by side with this affix, the modern affix in नो, etc., occurs;

but this does not prove that it is not a later form of तणो, because the poets habitually employ archaic forms side by side with those of their own day, as we have seen in the quotations from the Hindi poets in this Chapter. Nor does the change of ण to न present any difficulty, as Gujarati is very lax in this matter, and in common parlance, like Hindi, uses न in places where ण is etymologically correct.

Bearing in mind that the principle which runs through the genitives of all these languages is to apply to the noun some affix which shall give it an adjectival sense, it will not seem strange that each language should have selected its own affix from the extensive range of adjectival affixes which Sanskrit offers. In the present instance it is natural to look to the affix तन, in such words as सनातन "perpetual," from सना "always;" पुरातन "ancient," from पुरा "formerly;" नूतन "new," from नू "now;" चिरंतन "old," from चिरं "long ago." न is generally written ण in the western Prakrits, and thus तन becomes in Apabhranśa, as we have seen (§ 46), तणो. The meaning of तन accords well with that of an adjectival genitive; and it is not strange to see an affix which in the classical language is of restricted use, extended by the vulgar to every noun in their language. Although in Sanskrit this affix forms adjectives out of adverbs of time only, yet in the Gipsy language we find the corresponding affix *tno* extended to adverbs of place; as,

anglalutno "former,"	from	*anglál* "before" (Skr. अग्र).	
rattutno / *arattutno* "nightly,"	,,	*ratti* / *aratti* "night" (Skr. रात्रि).	
avgutno "firstborn,"	,,	*avgo* "former."	
duritno "distant,"	,,	*dur* "far" (Skr. दूर).	

And even to nouns, as—

gavudno "villager,"	,,	*gav* "village" (Skr. ग्राम, H. गांव).
dakarutno "kingly,"	,,	*dakar* "king."

With elision of *t*, just as in modern Gujarati,

angaruno "made of coal," „ *angár* "coal" (Skr. अङ्गार).

baruno "stony," „ *bar* "stone."[1]

The affix तना is also in use in some rustic dialects of Hindi, and will probably be found in Chand, though I do not remember to have seen it there.

The Marathi genitive affix चा has been asserted to be derived from the H. का by the change of क into च; but after much searching I am unable to find a single other instance of this change in the whole of this language, and hesitate to believe that so common a word as the genitive affix should be the result of a phonetic change, which is absolutely isolated and unsupported by a single analogous process (see Vol. I. p. 209). It seems rather to have arisen from the Skr. affix त्य, meaning "produced in," "sprung from," in such words as दक्षिणात्य "southern," पाश्चात्य "western." Here, again, it is assumed that an affix of restricted application in Sanskrit has obtained a wider use in the vulgar language. In old Marathi poetry this affix has a lengthened form चिया, चिये, and चेनि; but this additional syllable is merely added to eke out the metre, and is commonly found after other case-affixes also, as in हनि and हनियां for हन.

Sindhi takes as its affix जो, which Trumpp wishes to derive from the Skr. adjectiavl affix क through च to ज, a process for which there is no authority. It will be in analogy to the derivations suggested for the G. नो and M. चा, to derive this affix also from a Sanskrit adjectival termination, namely य (यत्), in such words as जन्य, रथ्य, वेश्य, धर्म्य, and the like. The only obstacle to this theory is that जो is added to the oblique form, whereas, if every substantive had been made into an adjective by the addition of य, only the stem would remain; and the same objection applies to the derivation

[1] Miklosich, ueber die mundarten der Zigeuner Europa's, ii. 23.

suggested for Marathi च; thus घोटकत्य: *equinus*, might give घोडअचो, and thence घोडाचा, but not घोड्याचा, as it actually is. Perhaps among the unthinking vulgar the custom of adding all the other case-affixes to the oblique form was carelessly extended to the genitive also. As regards Sindhi, however, it is, as an alternative line of investigation to be pursued, worthy of consideration whether we have not here the relative pronoun य "who;" thus घरनि जो धणी "the master of the houses," would be originally, "the master who (is) of the houses,"—the oblique form here doing duty as a genitive, which is exceedingly probable when we remember how large a part the genitive occupies in the formation of the modern oblique.

Sindhi and Kashmiri have a genitive affix, S. संदो, K. संद्. The modifications of the Kashmiri genitival affix are very eccentric and peculiar, and are given as follows by Elmslie (J. A. S. B., vol. xxxix. p. 101).

With singular noun	Sing. masc.	संद्	fem. संज़् (*sanz* سَنز).
	Pl. masc.	संदि	fem. संज़ह (*sanzah* سَنزہ).
With plural noun	Sing. masc.	ह्यंद्	fem. हिंज़् (*hinz* ہِنز).
	Pl. masc.	हिंदि	fem. हिंज़ह (*hinzah* ہِنزہ).

Here not only does the affix vary in concord with the governed noun, but it varies with the governing noun also, thus introducing a double series of confusions. Examples are not given in the meagre article from which these forms are taken, and there are contradictions in it which detract from its trustworthiness. Moreover, the author having laid down at the outset a system of transliteration, straightway departs from it; and by giving us also the words in the Persian character instead of the Nagari, he still further misleads the reader. All this is very tantalizing, because the few scraps of information which we have about Kashmiri are just enough to show that it is one of the most interesting and instructive languages of the group, retaining a singularly rich array of archaic words and forms.

There is one peculiarity, however, of which a firm grasp can be taken, namely, the change of initial स into ह. This is a well-known feature in Zend and in those Aryan languages which are situated close to the Zend area (see Vol. I. p. 258). This process seems to explain the origin of the Panjabi genitive in दा, दे, दी, etc. In Panjabi, the change of स into ह is extremely frequent, and it is in its general features a less archaic language than Kashmiri, so that it is not unreasonable to suppose, that while the latter only suffered स to be weakened to ह in the feminine affixes, Panjabi suffered the change to take place in all cases, and we thus postulate an old Panjabi form हंदा. This form is still used in many rustic forms of Panjabi. It and संदा are simply the present participle of the verb "to be," and one often hears संदा ज़ंदा = "being," or हंदा ज़ंदा, according to the dialect. संदा is the Panjabi version of Pr. सन्तो, Skr. सन्तः, from the root अस्. One can readily understand how a word meaning "being," when added to the oblique form of a noun, would gradually acquire the sense of a genitive; thus, "the horse being to me," or "which is to me," becomes "my horse," just as in Latin we have the construction "est mihi." The anuswâra of the present participle is dropped in Panjabi in many verbs, especially in the more cultivated portions of the country, where the typical or classical form of the language would naturally be developed; thus, while the rude herdsmen of the southern deserts say मारिंदा *mârendâ*, "beating," the dwellers in towns say मारदा *mârdâ*. In this way संदा would become हंदा, and that again हदा, whence by elision of ह we get the present genitive form दा. It is worthy of notice, that this form in दा seems to be of comparatively late origin, and that in the Granth we more frequently find the genitive affix का, as in Hindi.[1]

§ 60. The Locative.—The traces of the synthetic system still

[1] Trumpp in J.R.A.S., n.s., vol. v. p. 198.

remaining in this case have been commented upon in § 48: here we have to notice the modern case-affixes used to express a locative meaning. These are as follows:—

Hindi . . .	में.	Bengali	ते.
Panjabi . .	विच्.	Oriya . .	रे.
Sindhi . . .	में, मंझि.	Nepali .	मा.
Gujarati . .	मां.	Kashmiri	*manz* (= मंझ?).
Marathi . .	अंत्.	Gipsy .	*te*.[1]

The most important group of these endings is that having **म** for its characteristic, and we are fortunately able to trace the origin of this affix fully back to the earliest times. It is derived from the Sanskrit adverbially used locative **मध्ये**, meaning "in the middle." Chand uses a great variety of progressive forms of this affix, thus showing that even in his time the changes had been completed, and that he was consciously employing archaisms, as he so often does, when he used forms which were older than the latest **में**. Instances are, dropping the final *e*, and thus giving **मध**.

अमृत सु म्रत मध वसि ॥

"Immortal dwelling among mortals."—i. 3.

इह बोलि वाणी दल मध आयौ ॥

"Having said this speech, he came amongst the army."—xxi. 10.

In this fuller form the word retains the fuller meaning "amongst." Next comes the solution of the semivowel into its vowel **मधि**, and when a long vowel is required **मद्धि**.

हजार सु तीन परे धर मधि ॥

"Thousands three fell *on* the earth."—xxi. 7, 59.

जोगिनीय गई रागिनी मद्धि ॥

"The witch went amongst the queens."—i. 178.

[1] Paspati, p. 55. See also p. 500.

The natural transition from ध + य to झ (see Vol. I. p. 326) gives the form मझि.

मुक्कि परिय मझि विल अथाव ॥

"Fell headlong into the bottomless pit."—i. 79.

मुक्कि is here a form of the 3rd person singular preterite for मुक्यौ, which would be the Hindi rendering of Skr. मोचितं from मोच्, and thus means "was set free;" combined with परना = पडना "to fall," it means "was let loose falling," *i.e.* "fell unrestrainedly or headlong." The order is here, as sometimes in Chand, and often in Sindhi, reversed, the postposition becoming a preposition.

Connected with this last form are the forms मांझ and मज्झं, with inorganic anuswâra, and the former with lengthened vowel. The final short इ is rejected, a fate which frequently befalls final short vowels in Hindi.

उपवाग मांझ चलि गये आप ॥

"They themselves went into the garden."—xxi. 5, 6.

उपवाग is probably a curious termination of उप with Persian باغ, after the fashion of उपवन.

को राजन कवन धर मज्झं ॥

"What king, in what land."—xxvi. 18.

In the next line we get—

परचर उजेन मझं ॥

"In wealthy Ujain."

परचर = Skr. प्रचुर "abounding in (wealth)." A lengthened or secondary form. मझार, with a quasi-diminutive termination, is also used, but with the more definite meaning, "in the middle of."

नर नारी लज्या गई ॥ फागुन मास मझार ॥

"The modesty of men and women has gone, in the middle of the month of Phâgun."—xxiii. 1, 4.

—alluding to the indecent songs sung at the Holi festival in that month;—

लै पवरि सहर पहुंची मझार ॥

"Having received the news, she arrived in the middle of the city."
—i. 178.

अरि भजि गये गिर वन मझार ॥

"The enemy fled into the middle of the hills and forests."—i. 206.

A step further brings us to the rejection of the organic portion of the aspirate and retention only of the aspiration (Vol. I. p. 263, *et seqq.*), thus producing the extremely common form महि.

कज्जल महि कस्तूरी ॥
रानी रेहंत नयन शृंगारं ॥

"Putting musk into lampblack,
The queen streaks her eyes for ornament."—i. 20.

झारषंड महि चरत ॥

"Grazing in Jhârkhaṇḍ."—i. 61.

It is frequently lengthened to माही and मांही.

देखति नृपति वसि नींदा माही ॥

"Seeing the king sitting in sleep."—i. 191.

लग्यौ वीर जल्हन पर्यौ धर मांही ॥

"The hero Jalhan was smitten, he fell in the field."—xxi. 264.

There is also a corrupt form माँहिं.

पिय रन माँहिं मरै ॥
नारी सती न होय ॥

"If the husband dies in battle
(and) the wife does not become a Sati."—xxi. 175.

From this last form, which is properly मेहं, by rejection of the ह comes the present ordinary form में.

एक मास में नगर वसायौ ॥

"In one month he colonized a city."—i. 218.

The Sindhi and Gujarati forms are only slight dialectic variations from the Hindi type; as is also the Nepali, which has not the anunâsika.

Bengali and Oriya often express the locative by adding the full Sanskrit form **मध्ये** to the genitive, and Oriya oddly gives the locative ending to this word, so that we often hear **ताहार मधरे**, where the last word is the locative of a noun **मध**. Marathi also uses **मध्ये** in the same way, and in poetry the archaic **माजी**, as in Tukaram, Abhanga 1887:—

विश्व हें विठ्ठल नाहीं दुजें कांहीं ॥ देखणें तुझें ही तयामाजी ॥

"Vithal is the universe, there is nothing besides, thou also art seen in him."

And again—

विरंची नें केळें ब्रह्मांड सकळ ॥ तयामाजी खेळ नाना युक्ति ॥

"Brahma has created the whole universe, in it are his various diversions and skill."—Abh. 1886.

The most common method of expressing the locative, however, in Marathi, is by adding to the oblique form *nt*, apparently derived from the Skr. adverb **अन्तर्** "within," which in Prakrit becomes **अंतो**. This particle is, even in classical Sanskrit, used as an affix, as **दन्तान्तर्**, between the teeth. In Marathi the initial vowel is lost, and the two letters *nt* alone remain. Thus, **घरा + न्त = घरांत** "in a house," **हत्तीं** "on an elephant," from **हत्ती**; **मधूंत** "in honey," from **मधु**, with the vowel of the termination lengthened, as is customary in the oblique form.

Of the Bengali **ते** the most probable origin is from the adverbial ablative **तस्**, of which notice was taken in a preceding paragraph; and Oriya **रे**, which, in its fuller form, is **ठारे**, is probably of the same origin,—the two forms, **ठारु** and **ठारे**, having by degrees been restricted to special meanings of the same case, namely the ablative.

§ 61. In addition to the case-affixes above noticed, which are

specially attached to definite cases, there is a very large number of particles which serve to modify the noun, but which cannot have any definite place assigned to them in the narrow range of cases to which the grammarians have bound down the Aryan declension. They fall into two classes, according as they are attached to the crude form of the noun, or to the genitive case. The classification cannot, however, be carried out very thoroughly, because some of them fall into different categories in different languages. Thus, H. पास "near," (Skr. पार्श्व), is attached to the oblique masculine genitive, as घर के पास "near the house," literally "near of the house;" but M. पासून, which is the same word as H. पास, is attached to the oblique stem, as घरापासून. It will be better, therefore, to go through the most commonly used and widely current of these postpositions, without attempting to class them under either of the two heads mentioned above. The distinction is important, as indicating the degree of cohesion to which each particle has attained; and thus enabling the student, in the absence of literature, to form an idea of the comparative antiquity of each of them, and thus to measure, to a certain extent, the rate of progress of those phonetic changes which have given rise to the present modern languages.

§ 62. Of wide use is H. आगे "before," used with a genitive: its older form is आगू, still heard in rustic Hindi. Sindhi has आगे़ and आगिऑं, with oblique genitive in जे, or with ablative in खां. The other languages have—

Panjabi अग्गे and अगिओ.
Gujarati अगाउ.
Oriya अगरे ,, अगरु.
Bengali आगे (vulgo) एग्गे.

In all these pairs of words we have derivatives from two cases of the Skr. अग्र. The words in *e* are locatives from अग्रे,

meaning "in the front;" those in *u* and *o* ablatives from अग्रात्, meaning "from the front;" अग्रात् becomes Pr. अग्गादु, अग्गाउ; and the long *â* is in Hindi entirely omitted, and in S. and P. softened to *i*; while Oriya adds its own locative and ablative case-affixes रे and रु.

Similarly, for the corresponding word "behind," the Old-Skr. adjective पश्च (vedic) supplies its locative पश्चे (not used in classical Skr.) and its ablative पश्चात्. The words in use are—

H. पाछे, पोछे and पाछू.
P. पिछे „ पिछों.
S. पोए „ पुआं.
G. पछे „ पछी, पाछो.
B. पिछे.
O. पछे „ पाछु.

The nexus श्च regularly becomes च्छ, and then छ, with a preceding long vowel. H. पीछे presents an anomalous long *i*, for which it is difficult to account. My theory is, that the same process has taken place as in निश्चय (Vol. I. p. 307), where the nexus is sundered, and the श् passes into ह, producing निहचे; thus पश्चे would become पहचे, or, owing to the tendency to insert *i* after *h* between two short vowels (Vol. I. p. 138), पहिचे, and thus तीचे, which, from imitation of the kindred word पाछे, has been written with छ. The Sindhi has entirely dropped the nexus, and substituted a labial vowel, which is very anomalous. In every case it will be seen that the terminations are respectively locative, meaning "in the rear," and ablative, meaning "from the rear."

A third series, meaning "below," is afforded by the same two cases of the Skr. adj. नीच "low."

H. नीचे and नीचू.
P. नीचे „ नीचों.
G. नीचे.
B. *id.*

This series is not so extensively used as the others, as there are two competitors for this meaning: तले, which is the favourite word in B. and O.; and हेठ, which has the preference in P. हेठ "below," हेठों "from below," हेठदें "along the under side of;" G. हेठे "below;" S. हेठे "below," हेठां "from below." तले requires no explanation, being a simple Skr. locative, one of those strong plain words which is not susceptible of any phonetic change. हेठ is a curious word, and has undergone considerable change. Its origin is Skr. अधस्त, which, in Pali and Prakrit, becomes हेट्ठ, by rejection of the initial *a*, solution of ध into ह, and change of the second *a* to a short *ĕ*. Although अधस्तात्, a common Skr. adverb, is generally quoted as the origin of this word, yet it would be more in consonance with the regular course of phonetic change to look to a form अधष्ठः the last element of which would be the root स्था (ष्ठा), to stand. The P. हेठों and S. हेठां are, however, regular ablatives; and G. हेठे is the regular locative, just as the other above quoted words. (Weber, Hâla, pp. 42, 202.)

Skr. उपरि "upon," gives H. ऊपर, and so in all. With loss of initial *u*, it yields a long string of words, which have arrived at the position of case-affixes, being joined directly to the oblique form; these are, H. पर, परि, पै "on;" S. परि, G. पर, O. परे, B. परे. With further softening of प into व, it becomes in M. वर्, and is closely attached to the noun, being written as one word with it; and so also in Gujarati: not even taking the oblique form of the noun, but the simple stem, as घरवर "on the house," तरुवर "on a tree."

Skr. स्थाने gives H. ताईं and तईं, which, from having originally meant "in the place," has grown gradually into an affix meaning "up to," and even simply a sign of the objective = को; so you may say उस को मारो or उस तईं मारो "beat him." S. has also ताईं and तोईं, P. ताईं.

From Skr. संमुख, Pr. संमुहं and समुहं, are derived H. साम्हने, साम्ह, समुहे, सोंहें, and सींहीं; S. साम्हों, साम्ह्णो, and साम्ह्णे

P. साहमणे and साहमणिओं; G. सहामुं, सहामां, सहामे. The M. समोर, used like the rest in the sense of *coram, in front of, face to face*, is rather a modern compound from modern materials, स "with," and मोहरा "front," a recent diminutive from मुख. To this group may also be attached the Oriya छामु, meaning originally "in front of," then "in the presence of (a king)," and so, ultimately, as a substantive, meaning the court or audience-hall of a king or great man, in which sense it takes the locative sign रे, as राजार् छामुरे निवेदन कला, "he supplicated the king," literally "in the audience of the king." The Hindi writers spell their word in a dozen different ways; but from the terminations of H., as well as the other languages, it is clear, that here also we have the two Skr. cases locative and ablative, as in most of the other postpositions.

Skr. पार्श्वे and पार्श्वं "near," H. पास, P. पास and पाह "near," पासों and पाहों "from near," S. पासे, G. पासे, M. पासीं, पासून. Here, again, the locative and ablative.

There are innumerable other postpositions in use in all the languages: they will be found in the dictionary. The point to be observed is the prevalence of forms derived from the Skr. locative and ablative cases, necessitating the placing of the noun to which they are attached in the oblique genitive, or, to speak more clearly, in that form of the genitive affix which it takes when governed by a noun in the singular oblique.

The structure of the modern noun is thus strikingly homogeneous in all the seven languages, as well as in those cognate dialects which have not yet been thoroughly investigated; and which, owing to the insufficiency of trustworthy data for them, it has been found necessary to exclude from the present inquiry. They have all a stem in four forms—the nominatives of the singular and plural, and two obliques for the two numbers. There are also here and there traces, faint and slight, but still quite unmistakeable, of the older synthetical system of the Aryan languages. These traces consist of abraded case-endings,

occasionally removed from the stem, and used as postpositions. Some confusion has crept in—as was natural among generations which had lost the sentiment of synthetical construction—between the various cases, and a form proper to one case has passed over to another, or been extended to all. To supply the distinctness of meaning which the mutilated case-endings no longer afforded, case-affixes, themselves for the most part shortened and simplified remnants of old adjectives, nouns, and participles, have been called in; but though this principle has been introduced into all the languages, the precise words so adopted vary in each case, every language having forms of its own not used by the others. The close relationship of the whole, however, is more fully established by this practice than it would have been had all the languages been in the habit of using precisely the same affixes. Uniformity of principle is a far deeper lying bond and token of esoteric unity than mere surface similarity of individual words: the latter might have been borrowed; the former, being an inborn mental instinct, could not.

The same remark holds good of the still further development of the noun's capabilities of expression, as shown in the postpositions which do not form cases, but are merely attached to the oblique noun. In these there runs throughout the same principle, though its exemplifications are different. The more we penetrate into the secrets of the structure of these languages, the more do they show themselves to be closely allied by the deepest and most fundamental ties,—the same blood runs in the veins of all, and the same fertile Aryan mind has found expression in their rich and varied formations for its activity, wealth of resource, and *πολυμήχανος ἐνέργεια*.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PRONOUN.

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§ 63. The Personal Pronouns in all the seven languages are singularly homogeneous in type, and their analysis is rendered comparatively easy by the fidelity with which they have preserved the Prakrit forms. In this respect they stand in contrast to the nouns which have so widely departed from the ancient models. The first and second persons run parallel to one another, and have four fundamental forms, namely the nominatives and the obliques in both numbers. The genitive is a possessive pronoun, and, as in the noun, adjectival in form. It will be treated separately.

Of the first person the forms are as follows:

	NOM. SING.	OBL. SING.	NOM. PL.	OBL. PL.
Hindi	हौं, ऊं [मैं]	मुझ, मो	हम	हमों.
Panjabi	हउं [मैं]	मैं	असीं	असा.
Sindhi	आंऊं, आं	मूं, मां	असीं	असां.
Gujarati	ऊं	मज	अमे	अम, अमो.
Marathi	मी	मज	आम्ही	आम्हा.
Oṛiya	मु	मो	अम्हे	अम्ह, अम्हं.
Bengali	मुइ	मो	आमि	आमा.
Gipsy	*me*	*mân*	*amén*	*amen.*
Nepali	म	म	हामी.	हामी.

In the above scheme are given the forms which are etymologically correct, rather than those which the people really use, for much confusion has taken place in this respect in modern times in two ways. First, H. P. and M. use for the nominative a form which is really the instrumental; H. P. मैं has now quite superseded the old and proper nominative हौं in all but a few rustic dialects; and in M., as far as I can learn, there is no trace of a form हौं, or anything like it, either in ancient literature or in rustic speech. Oṛiya and Bengali have for their nominative a form beginning with म, which is characteristic of the Skr. oblique; so have the Nepali and the Gipsy languages. Secondly, Oṛiya and Bengali have adopted the habit of using their nom. pl. आमि and अम्हे as singulars, and have invented fresh plurals, O. अम्हेमाने, and B. आमरा, and B. has in addition struck out a plural for मुइ in the shape of मोरा. Fashion and pandit-influence have succeeded in relegating poor मुइ and मोरा to the domain of "vulgar" speech, and, to a certain extent, Oṛiya मु also; and so far has this habit gone that many natives refuse to admit that मु and मुइ are the true old singulars, but, in spite of the obviously plural nature of अम्हे and आमि, persist in regarding them as the genuine singulars.

The nominative singular हौं, हउं, ह्वं or ह—for these four forms are all one and the same—represents the Sanskrit अहं, which loses its initial *a* in the Apabhraṅśa or vulgar Prakrit, and becomes हमुं, which Lassen (Inst. Pr. p. 466) shows to be shortened from the Sauraseni अहमं, so that उं stands for मं (Vol. I. p. 254). Hence, by elision of म, comes हउं, a form which Panjabi in many of its rustic dialects still retains. Sindhi goes a step further, and rejects the ह, while lengthening both vowels. The other form, आं, Trumpp considers as simply contracted from अहं; but as अहं had been lost to ordinary speech long before the Sindhi forms began to be excogitated, it is more probable that आं is to be regarded merely as a shortened form of आंऊं. Old-Hindi हौं is the same word as P. हउं with a slight difference of spelling; while Middle-Hindi and Gujarati ह्वं are shortenings of the same by omission of the short internal *a*. Chand uses हौं, sometimes written हौं, as—

तौ हौं छण्डौं देह ॥

"Then I quit this body."— i. 157.

सो हौं सबै सुनत हौं मात ॥

"All that I am hearing, O mother."—i. 160.

Modern-Hindi and P. मैं, which is now the only form in use for "I," is, strictly speaking, like Marathi मी, the instrumental; in Skr. मया, in Apabhraṅśa मइं, and apparently also मई, though Lassen is doubtful on this point (Inst. Pr. p. 480). I fail to see why Trumpp calls this an accusative (p. 189). The transition of the instrumental into a nominative is rendered natural by the use of the prayoga, in which the subject takes an instrumental form, and accordingly Chand uses मैं only before the preterite of transitive verbs, *i.e.* in the place where the subject is required to be in the instrumental; in all other places he uses हौं. Thus—

मैं सुन्यौ साहि बिन अंषि कीन ॥

"I heard that the Shah had put out his eyes."—lxv. 110.

—where in Modern-H. we should have मैं ने सुना. The modern fashion of saying मैं ने is founded upon ignorance of the true nature of the word, and contains the instrumental twice over. In Panjabi this error is often avoided, मैं being used alone as an instrumental; and so also in Gujarati, where मे alone is the instr. of હું. Marathi मी is probably from मई; but M. has also two forms of the instrumental, मीं and म्यां, the former of which refers back to मइं, and the latter to some other corruption of Skr. मया, the intermediate links of which are not extant.[1]

B. मइ and O. मु appear to have arisen from the Apabhraṅśa form हमुं by rejection of the initial ह, and have probably passed through a stage in which they were spoken अमइ and अमु: the first इ in B. is inorganic. It is in singular accordance, as regards sound, with these forms, that Sindhi, at the other end of the Indian continent, uses also मूं as a nominative, as also मां; but, as regards origin, these forms have apparently, like H. मैं, passed over from the instrumental.

The commonest types of the oblique form in the singular are मो *mo* and मुझ *mujh*. मो occurs throughout Old and Middle Hindi, Oriya, and Bengali. It appears in the slightly modified forms मूं and मां in Sindhi; and, if we are to write Paspati's *man* as मां, in the Gipsy also. Although, in treating of the genesis of the oblique in nouns, it was stated that not the genitive alone, but a sort of conflation of all the cases in Prakrit fused down into one lay at the origin of the modern form, yet it was also

[1] Lassen probably reads हत्ति for हइं in Vikramorvasi, Act iv. (p. 93, Calc. ed.), where the Calcutta edition reads मत्ति. The line is: ए मत्ति पुहवि भमन्ते जइ पित्र पेखिहिमि. Here it is clearly a nom. "If I, wandering about the world, shall find my love," as the Skr. gloss gives it: अहं पृथिवीं भ्रमन् यदि प्रियां प्रेक्षिष्ये ॥ Lassen uses Lenz's edition, which is not procurable here; but if मत्ति is to stand, it is a noteworthy instance of a construction which has now become universal in Hindi, by which the instrumental is used for the nominative even before verbs in the present and future, and not only, as in the Karmaṇi prayoga, before the preterite.

admitted that the genitive had exercised a potent and perhaps slightly preponderating influence. Here, in the pronoun, the genitive has clearly been the foundation of the modern type. The genitive in classical Prakrit and Pali is not here alluded to, so much as that of the Apabhranśa. In the classical Prakrit the genitive stands as **मम**, **मह**, **मज्झ**, and **मे**; Hâla uses **ममं** (once), **मज्झ**, **मह**, **महं**, **मे**, and **मए**; and Pali has **मम**, **ममं**, **मह्यं**, and **अम्हं**. Of all these forms, Hâla's **महं** seems the most popular, and stands one step higher than the Apabhranśa **मइं**, from which comes directly the S. genitive **मुइं**. Of the introduction of *u* into the first syllable in this word, and in H. **मुझ**, notice will be taken further on. **मइं** would become **मौं** and **मो**, just as the objective affix **कइं** becomes, as we have seen, **कौं** and **को**. Of **मौं** we have, indeed, no instances; but then we have no writings of the period when it was in use. In Chand and his successors **मो**, with its oblique affix **हि**, occurs frequently. First **मो**, with or without case-affixes—

किम उधार मो होइ ॥

"How shall there be salvation *for me*."—i. 188.

भट्ट जाति कवियन नृपति ॥ नाथ नाम मो चंद ॥

"Bhat by caste, King of poets, Lord! *my* name is Chand."—vi. 18.

अैसो कहि मो कइं डर पावइ ॥

"Having thus said *for me* you find fear."—i 160.

जो मो सों साच न कही ॥

"If you do not speak truth *with me*."—i. 157.

Secondly, **मोहि** and its shorter form **मुहि**:—

जो मुहि ढुंढा निगलिहै ॥

"If Dhundha shall swallow me."—i. 170.

कह्यो मोहिनि वर मोहि ॥

"Quoth the lord of Mohini *to me*."—i. 192.

नही मोहि काम पिता राजधान ॥

"There is no business *for me* in my father's palace."—lxiv. 366.

In Old-Bengali also the closely-allied **मोहे** is the regular form in use. Here the final *e* is short and=*i*. Bidyapati has:

कि कहसि मोहे निदान ॥

"What dost thou say *to me* after all?"—Pad.

मो विने स्वपने न हेरवि आन ॥

"Except me, in sleep thou shalt not see another."—Pad.

The other form **मुझ** is derived from **मज्झ**, one of the Prakrit forms of the genitive, and owes its *u* probably to assimilation to the pronoun of the second person **तुझ**. M. and G., while changing the **झ** into **ज**, retain the vowel *a*, and use **मज**. Chand uses **मुझ** not only as a genitive, as in

इह धरनी मुझ पित परपित ॥

"This land (was) my father's and forefathers'."—i. 279;

but as an oblique generally, as in

तूं मुझ जंपहि माई ॥

"Tell thou to me, O mother!"—i. 147.

Modern-Hindi uses a form **मुझे**, which is made by adding *e*, the usual sign of the oblique in nouns, and indicates the objective case; the affixes of the other cases are added to **मुझ** alone, as **मुझ पर**, **से**, etc. The genitival origin of the form has been quite forgotten.

Gujarati is very unfixed and irregular in the oblique cases. It takes **मज** alone for the genitive, at least so say the grammars; and, moreover, makes it the oblique stem, to which case-endings are attached, as **मज ने** "to me," **मज थी** "from me." The old poets use also **मुज**. Thus—

मुजने तजवा ओकली कठण करो छो मंन ॥

"You form the cruel intention of leaving me alone."

—Tulsi in Kâvya-d. i. 4.

In addition to this, however, it uses the form of the genitive (masc. nom.) **मारा** as a fulcrum for the ablative and locative, as **मारा थी** "from (of) me," **मारा मां** "in (of) me;" and the

oblique form of the same मारे as an instrumental and dative. These are confusions arising from the consciousness that the oblique मज was really an old genitive; so that, when they got a new genitive, they used it also as an oblique. One hears in Hindi also, colloquially, such expressions as मेरे से "from me," due to the same sentiment. Marathi elides the final ज of मज in some cases; thus we have मजला and मला "to me," मजमीं and ममीं "against me." In the locative, it, like G. and H., uses the oblique genitive माझे shortened to माझि, and with the *i* further recrudesced into य, as a fulcrum for the case-affix, thus producing माझ्यांत "in me," precisely parallel to G. मारा मां. Oriya and Bengali use their oblique form मो regularly throughout. O. has, however, one curious exception, making the objective मोते, or shortened मते (mŏte), instead of मोकु, which would be the regular form. As ते nowhere occurs as a case-affix in O., the only way that I see of accounting for this form is to suppose that we have here a shortening of the affix ताईं or तईं, which in H. and others has the sense of an objective, so that मते = मो तइ = मो ताईं.

§ 64. In the plural, Oriya preserves the Prakrit form unchanged as regards spelling अम्हे, but pronounces *ambhe*, the insertion of the *b* being due to the influence of the preceding labial म्. Bengali आमि appears to be merely a softening of अम्हे, which in Hindi has undergone transposition, the ह having been thrown back to the beginning of the word, just as the verb है "is," for हइ, by transposition from अहि, shortened from अहहि. Nepali exhibits a form हामी, as my informant writes it, which should probably be हामि; the long *i* being almost universally written for short *i* in rural Hindi. This form is transitional to Bengali, and the short *i* must be regarded as a corruption of the final *e* of अम्हे. Gujarati writes अमे, but in a majority of instances the rural population use हमे, which is not necessarily more correct than अमे, though the analogy of

Hindi would lead us to expect it. The Gipsy form *amen*, perhaps to be written अमें, agrees closely with this, and suggests the possibility of the ह having been simply dropped from the Prakrit form. M., in its form आम्ही, seems to have done for the plural the same as it does for the singular, namely, transferred the form of the instrumental to the nominative; for the instrumental in Apabhraṅśa is अम्हेहिं, and the objective अम्हइं. From a confusion of these two would arise आम्ही: this, with the nasal आम्हीं, is now used as the instrumental plural; and the two forms आम्ही nom. and आम्हीं instr. stand to each other in exactly the same relation as the forms of the singular मी nom. and मीं instr. It is difficult on any known phonetic principles to see in आम्ही a derivative from अम्हे.

P. and S. stand alone in having a nom. pl. असीं. Trumpp does not offer any satisfactory explanation of this. It is true that Pr. अम्हे points back to Skr. अस्म; but we cannot leap over Prakrit and take our form from Skr. direct; nor, if we did, would it help us with the long final *i* and anunâsika. A change of स into ह is a well-known feature of these two languages; but a reverse change of ह into स is quite opposed to their habits. Kashmiri has a similar form, which in one vocabulary is written ऐस् *ais* or अइस, in the other असि.

Kashmiri and that group of ancient Aryan dialects still spoken in Dardistan differ from the cognate languages of the plains of India in having a fondness for स, which they often retain in places where the latter would modify it to ह; and it may be conjectured that P. and S. derive this form from some intervening dialect of hill Prakrit which has not come down to us: they also retain the स in the oblique cases of the plural. The other languages derive from the Apabhraṅśa genitive अम्ह, with which Oriya is identical. In H. the ह has, as in the nominative, been thrown back to the beginning of the word. Although I have given the oblique form as हमों, yet in practice this is hardly ever used, the case-affixes of the plural being added to

हम्, as हम को, हम पर. There is also a crude oblique हमें used without affixes, which comes from the Apabh. accusative अम्हइं. G. affixes its case signs to a form अमो or to अम, the former being the same as H. हमों, and, like it, seeming to postulate a genitive अम्हाणं, formed on the same principle as the gen. pl. of nouns; the other form अम is clearly from अम्ह. M. आम्हा is formed by lengthening the vowels from the same, and so is B. आमा. In fact, all these forms are so closely similar to the Prakrit as to offer no difficulty in their analysis.

§ 65. The second person is an exact parallel to the first, and its forms are as follows:—

	SING. NOM.	SING. OBL.	PL. NOM.	PL. OBL.
Hindi	तू [तैं]	तुझ्	तुम्	तुम.
Panjabi	तूं	तै	तुसीं	तुसा, तुहा.
Sindhi	तूं	तो, तुंङं	तङ्हीं, etc.	तङ्हां, etc.
Gujarati	तुं	तुज	तमे	तम, तमो,
Marathi	तूं	तुज	तुम्ही	तुम्हा.
Oṛiya	तु	तो	तुम्हं	तुम्ह, तुम्हं.
Bengali	तुइ	तो	तुमि	तोमा.
Nepali	त	त	तिमी	तिमी.
Gipsy	*tu*	*tú*	*tumén*	*tumen.*

There is a striking uniformity in the nom. sing., for even H. has in many dialects the form तूं with anunâsika, though this is rejected in classical Hindi. All the early languages of the Indo-European family have as their base *tu*. The Skr. त्वं is exceptional, and, as Bopp shows (Comp. Gr. § 326), the *m* belongs to the case-ending, and the *a* is inserted between this ending and the base in all instances where the base does not already end in *a*, so that before this inserted *a* the *u* of an

original तु has been hardened to व. Thus we may assume a form तु for the type of this pronoun. The Prakrits exhibit a considerable number of forms; the commonest in scenic Prakrit is तुमं, side by side with which is तुअं; and in Apabhraṅśa तुहुं, where the हु is merely a stop-gap. By eliding अ and lengthening the labial vowel we get तूं, the commonest form of the nom. in the modern languages. I take no count of the difference observable in the quantity of the vowel, though in some languages we find तुं, and in others तूं, because these languages for the most part, as has been frequently shown, ignore the difference between *i* and *ī*, *u* and *ū*. Hindi तैं is like मैं of the first person, the instrumental तइं of Apabhr. brought over into the nom. It is a word of the rustic and vulgar side of the language, and is only used by the educated classes contemptuously when speaking to inferiors or domesticated animals. In P. it is still the instrumental, just as मैं.

The oblique has two principal types, तो and तुझ, corresponding to मो and मुझ of the first person. तो is used in Old and Middle-Hindi, and still in B. O. and S. and is derived from the genitive of Apabh. तुहुं, which S. preserves in its genitive under the form तुंङ्ग alone. तुझ, which becomes in M. and G. तुज, is from another Apabh. form of the gen. तुझ. Nepali stands alone in having dropped the vowel altogether.

The nominative plural Pr. तुम्हे is accurately preserved in O. तुम्हे (pronounced तुम्भे), slightly shortened in B. तुमि; and M. here, as in the first person, takes over the instrumental तुम्हइं in the form तुम्ही nom. and तुम्हीं instr., which some ignorantly write तुह्मी. H. here also, as in the first person, writes तुम् and तुमें, which latter is the Gipsy form also. Nepali तिमी has singularly changed the characteristic labial vowel to a palatal, just as (§ 51, p. 235) it has खित for सुंतो.

Panjabi makes its pl. nom. तुसीं, which is as great a puzzle as असीं of the first person, and for which I can as yet assign no satisfactory derivation. In this case Sindhi parts company with

P., and exhibits a very great number of forms, which, however, are arrangeable under two types. Thus—

तड्डीं, तवीं, तहीं, तईं.

अड्डीं, अवीं, अहीं, आंईं, अंईं.

The first form in each of the above lines is evidently the real form from which the succeeding ones have arisen by shortening, elision, and other simplifying processes. तड्डीं is, I think, like M. तुम्हीं, the Apabh. instrumental तुम्हइं, where the *u* has been changed to *ar*, and the *m* first weakened into anunâsika and then dropped altogether. It might also be accounted for by comparing it with Gujarati, which drops the labial vowel and uses तमे. If Sindhi has done this, then the व is a softening of म, as in H. गांव from ग्राम. The other series, of which अड्डीं is the fullest form, is quite unparalleled in the whole group. Trumpp's explanation is probably correct, that it comes from a form Pr. युम्हे, Skr. युष्मे, where the initial य has been elided and *u* changed to *ar*, as in तड्डीं. Even if this be the correct explanation, we have a most unexampled retention of a very archaic form which has never found its way into literature.

In the oblique plural H. uses तुम, as in the nom. The other languages mostly retain the form तुम्ह, which is the base of the Prakrit pl. in all cases, and stands alone in the genitive. The modern languages generally add long *â* or *ân*, as M. तुम्हा, B. तोमा, S. तड्डां, the latter with its parallel series अड्डां, etc. G. follows Hindi, but substitutes *a* for *u* in तम and तमो, which latter agrees with H. तुम्हीं. Panjabi तुहा seems at first sight to agree with the other languages; but the ह is here in reality merely the ordinary Panjabi substitute for the स of तुसा.

§ 66. As in the noun, so also in the pronoun, the genitive is really an adjective agreeing with the governing noun in gender

and case. The forms, which depart very much in some cases from the type of the oblique, are here given.

	I. PERS. SING.	I. PERS. PL.	II. PERS. SING.	II. PERS. PL.
Hindi	मेरा	हमारा	तेरा	तुम्हारा.
Panjabi	मेरा	असाडा	तेरा	तुसाडा, तुहाडा.
Sindhi	मुंझं जो, etc.	असां जो, etc.	तुंझं जो, etc.	तहां जो, अहां जो, etc.
Gujarati	मारो	अमारो	तारो	तमारो.
Marathi	माझा	आमचा	तुझा	तुमचा.
Oriya	मोर	अम्हर	तोर	तुम्हर.
Bengali	मोर	आमार	तोर	तोमार.
Nepali	मेरो	हाम्रो	तेरो	तिम्रो.
Bhojpuri	हमर, °रो	हमार	तुहर, °रो	तुहार.
Marwari	मारो	म्हारो	तेरो	थारो.

Sindhi in this group merely uses the ordinary oblique with the genitive suffixes, and Marathi does the same in its plurals, simply dropping the ह of अम्ह and तुम्ह, while in its singular it makes a compound form मज + चा = माझा, and तुज + चा = तुझा.

Leaving these two languages aside, the rest exhibit, under different forms as respects quantity and attendant vowels, uniformly a type in र, which we have no difficulty in connecting with the older genitive of the noun formed by the affixes केरा and करा. It has been customary, however, to give a different origin to these forms. Those who have done so have unfortunately taken two extremities of a long chain and compared them together, totally omitting the intermediate forms, with which they were probably unacquainted. Bopp, whose knowledge of Hindustani was necessarily very limited, derives II. मेरा, तेरा, from Skr. मदीय "meus," त्वदीय "tuus;" and in the same way हमारा would be for अस्मदीय (as it is) from अस्मदीय and तुम्हारा from युष्मदीय. The process is said to be effected by the change of द् into ड and then to र, just as in the numerals

Skr. एकादश becomes Pr. एआरह, H. इगारह. But we may look in vain in Prakrit for the intermediate forms with ड, and the termination ईय of Skr. does not produce masc. *â*, fem. *î*, in the moderns.

The pronouns use the same affixes for signs of all other cases as the nouns do—को, से, में, ते, and the rest; it is therefore fair to assume that they use the same signs in the genitive. Chand uses मो and तो as genitives as well as other oblique cases; but he knows already मेरा and हमारा, using, however, the former rather as a pure genitive, the two latter where possession requires to be clearly indicated.

Thus मो and the genitives in रा are contemporary forms, but perhaps with a slightly different meaning, the former being a pure genitive and oblique, the latter possessive adjectives. In O. and B. मो forms the genitive by adding र; without this it is merely the crude form of the oblique cases. That this र is shortened from कर was shown under the noun; and as in the Oriya noun, so also in the pronoun, this कर is found in full in the pl. अम्हंकर, as well as shortened अम्हर. Old-Bengali has a genitive तुङ्क, in which, as in the genitive of the noun, we have the shortened form from कर, with dropping of the र.

I see no reason, therefore, to assume any other origin for the genitives of the first two persons in र than that assigned to the similar form in the noun; for even if we were to admit मदीय and its cognate forms to be the origin of the possessive pronoun, we can find no parallel forms for the similar genitive in र of the noun. This र genitive is an obscure and rustic but undoubtedly ancient form, which has only recently been brought to light, first by myself and subsequently by Hoernle. It was not known to Bopp or Lassen; had they known it, they would probably have abandoned the मदीय theory.

The only point in support of that theory is the curious Panjabi genitive pl. असाडा *asâḍâ*; but the Panjabi plurals of the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns are formed upon a different system

to those in the other languages, and an argument derived from it would not be fairly applicable to them.

Popular Prakrit has such forms as मह केरो, from which मेरा would naturally flow; and the rustic form of the same, namely मारो, would equally be derived from मह करो. So also in the plural, where Marwari म्हारो is अम्ह + करो, and थारो for तुहारो, through a well-known Old-H. तिहारो from तुम्ह + करो, where the म has been dropped. Documentary evidence is certainly wanting for earlier forms, but this is because the modern forms were already in use at the dawn of mediæval literature.

§ 67. For the pronoun of the third person, a direct descendant of the third person of Sanskrit is not always to be found, its place being generally supplied by the near and far demonstrative pronouns, which are reduced to their simplest elements इ and उ respectively.

It is first necessary to pick out the few traces remaining of the genuine old third person, which in Skr. starts from a stem त, making, however, its nominative case सः *m.*, सा *f.*, तत् *n.* Bopp shows (§ 341) that there is not in Sanskrit a pronoun of the third person with a purely substantive signification, but adduces the stem स्व as having originally occupied that place, and given rise to the Pr. से. It is not our province to go beyond what we find in Skr., and it is sufficient to remark on the traces of the stem त which still exist. In Hindi we have सो "he," but often used as a correlative pronoun, answering to the relative जो. Another form तो has now become an enclitic particle, but in Old-Hindi we find तौन and the oblique form तौने का, को. This answers to कौन interrogative, and जौन relative, and all three forms arise from compounding with the pronominal stem the adverb पुनः, Pr. उण, so that तौन is तो उण. Although पुनः means strictly "again," yet in the moderns it has changed its meaning; and when used as an enclitic, means merely "indeed,"

or nothing at all beyond a little additional emphasis, like the Greek *μεν*, *γε*, *δε*, etc.

सो is used as a correlative in most of the languages, as in Hindi—

जो पीता सो मरता

"Whoso drinks (it), *he* dies."

जो जो बैरी संचरे सो सो गिरे मार

"Whatsoever enemy attacks thee, he falls dead."

—Elliot, Races N. W. P., vol. i. p. 65.

In Panjabi it is used in precisely the same way. So also in Sindhi, where it occasionally stands alone, as—

सो हीउ सो हुअ सो अजलु सो अल्लहु ॥
सो प्रीं सो पसाहु सो वेरी सो वाहरु ॥

"He is this, he is that, he is death, he is Allah,
He friend, he breath, he foe, he helper."

Trumpp (quoting Sh. Kal. i. 19), p. 205.

In Marathi तो is sometimes used to mean "he," but its real meaning is "that," the far demonstrative; it is not the third personal pronoun, but an adjective varying in gender according to the substantive with which it is connected—तो *m.*, ती *f.*, तें *n.* It may therefore be postponed till we come to the correlative.

Gujarati, however, uses ते, pl. तेओ, as a substantive pronoun = "he." Bengali and Oṛiya have से "he," not unfrequently, however, used as an adjective "that." These forms show a softening of the *o* of Pr. सो; Nepali त.

The oblique singular is H. तिस; P. तिस, तिह; S. तँहिँ; G. ते; M. त्या *m.*, ति *f.*; O.-B. ताहा, ता; Nepali तस. All these forms come from the Sanskrit genitive तस्य, Pr. तस्स. Chand uses तस and तास, in the latter of which the long vowel is compensatory for rejection of one of the two consonants. He also uses

ताहि and shortened तिहि, forms resting on the Apabhraṅśa Pr. तह, ताह and तहि (Lassen, p. 482). Thus—

जाकै देह नहोई ॥
ताहि कैसें कें महियै ॥
"(He) of whom there is no body,
Him how can one seize?"—i. 161.

वज्रङ्गबाऊ अरिदलमलन ॥
तासु कित्ती चंद कहिय ॥
"(Him) whose arms are thunderbolts, who crushes the hosts of foes,
Of *him* the glory Chand speaks."—i. 46.

Here the *u* in *tâsu* is a mere metrical tag. Even in Chand's time, however, this word was used as an adjective, and instances will be given under the section treating of the demonstrative pronouns. Bengali has in this third person, as in the other two persons, seen fit to have a finer term than the simple ordinary से, and for this purpose it takes तिनि, which is really the oblique plural corresponding to the oblique plurals of the other languages—H. तिन, P. तिनां and तिन्हां, S. तनि, M. त्यां; all of which come from the Pr. genitive ताणं with the long *â* shortened into *a* and still further into *i*. Bengali having made तिनि into a nominative singular, has struck out a new form ताँहा for the oblique, differing only from the ordinary oblique ताहा by the insertion of anunâsika in the first syllable. Oṛiya, on the contrary, has for the nom. plural no organic form, but adds to the singular its modern plural sign माने, making सेमाने; for the oblique it uses either an organic form ताहंकर, तांकर or सेमानंकर, a genitive of the modern fashion.

§ 68. The demonstrative pronoun falls into two divisions,—that which indicates a person or thing either present or near at hand, and that which indicates a person or thing absent or at a

distance. The former in all Aryan languages has the type इ, the latter अ or उ. Thus in English, "this" and "these" have the palatal vowel, as contrasted with "that" and "those," which have the guttural and labial vowels. It would be foreign to our present purpose to make any remarks on the evidences of the universal distribution of these two types throughout the range of the Indo-Germanic family; but it may be observed that it is not confined to that family, but is found more or less in all the languages now classed as Turanian; and if we are to admit the fundamental unity of these two groups, this uniformity in so elementary and radical a part of speech is highly significant. Thus in all the Dravidian languages *i* is the near, and *a* the far demonstrative, while *u* holds a middle place between the two,—as in Tamil *idu*, "hoc," *adu*, "id;" Telugu *idi* and *adi*; Canarese *idu, adu*; Malayalam *ita, ata*.[1] So also—

Tamil *ivan* "hic," *avan* "ille," *ival* "hæc," *aval* "illa."
Telugu, *indu* "hic," *vandu* "ille," *idi* "hæc," *adi* "illa."

To return to our own special subject. The seven languages exhibit the following range of forms:—

I. Near Demonstrative—"this."

	NOM. SING.	OBL. SING.	NOM. PL.	OBL. PL.
Hindi	इ, इह, ए, एह, यह	इस	ये	इन, इन्ह.
Panjabi	इह, एह	इस, इह	इह, एह	इनां, इन्हां.
Sindhi	ई, ही, हे	इन, हिन	ही, हे	हिनि.
Gujarati	अे (ए)	अे (ए)	अेओ	अेओ.
Marathi	हा *m.*, ही *f.*, हें *n.*	ह्या, या	हे *m.*, ह्या *f.*, हीं *n.*	ह्यां, यां.
Oriya	ए, एहि, इहि	इहा, एहा	एमाने	इहां, एहां.
Bengali	ए	इहा	ए	इहां.

[1] Caldwell, Dravidian Comp. Gr., p. 333; Campbell, Telugu Gr., p. 77.

II. Far Demonstrative—"that."

	NOM. SING.	OBL. SING.	NOM. PL.	OBL. PL.
Hindi	उ, ओ, वह	उस	वे	उन, उन्ह.
Panjabi	उह	उस, उह	उह	उनां, उन्हां.
Sindhi	ऊ, ह्, हो	उन, ऊन	ह्, हो	ऊनि.
Gujarati	आ	आ	आओ	आओ.
Marathi	*deest.*			
Oṛiya	*deest.*			
Bengali	ओ	उहा	ओ	उहां.

Marathi and Oṛiya use the correlative, which is also the pronoun of the third person, M. तो, O. से, instead of the far demonstrative.

In Sanskrit, the primitive type इ् is overlaid by accretions, which render it somewhat difficult to identify (Bopp, § 360). The form which this pronoun has assumed in classical Sanskrit is अयं *m.*, इयं *f.*, इदं *n.*; and in Vedic Sanskrit there is a form इत् neuter, which, however, is used merely as an emphatic particle. Scenic Prakrit has nom. अअं *m.*, इअं *f.*, इणं *n.*, and an oblique base इम, also इण (Lassen, p. 326; Weber's Hala, p. 55). The ordinary Apabhraṅśa of the plays has इमु, and in the songs in the fourth act of the Vikramorvaśî are found loc. pl. इमेसुं (Skr. एषु); से "of her" (Skr. अस्या); दुरारूढ़ो अ से प्पणओ "and excessive is her affection;" एत्थ, abl. sing. "than it" (Skr. अस्मात्), and other similar forms. But it is perhaps useless to seek for the origin of the modern forms in any written works. They have their origin in all probability in a much lower stratum of popular speech than ever found its way into writing before the time of Chand, whose forms may therefore in this, as in so many other instances, be taken as the furthest point to which researches can at present be pushed back.

The types of the demonstrative in the Prithirâj Rasau are the following :—

N. Sing.	इह	उह.
Obl.	याहि	वाहि.
Emphatic	इहै	उहै.
N. Pl.	ये, इहे	वे.
Obl.	इनि, इन	उनि, उन.

besides variations caused by the metrical necessities of the poem, and having no value as organic forms.

मोहि इह आगम बुझ्झै ॥

"To me this scripture is clear."—iii. 28, 2.

Both the nom. pl. of the far and the emphatic singular of the near demonstrative are shown in the lines—

वे वाहै तरवारि ॥ इहै मुष पक्करि सु कट्टै ॥

"They ply their swords, he catching them in his mouth bites them."
—i. 254, 5.

किहि काज तुम इह धम्म लीन ॥

"For what cause have you taken up this religion?"—i. 172, 6.

यांहि सम्पूरन को थिर काजं ॥

"To complete this is a work firmly resolved on."—i. 87, 6.

Shortened to इहि and oblique in sense:

इहि विधि आनल वत उचारिय ॥

"In this fashion Anal uttered (his) speech."—i. 155.

The ordinary modern form of the oblique, as in H. इस, like the oblique of all these pronouns, appears to lead back clearly to the Skr. gen. अस्य, Pr. अस्स; and the forms इह, इहा, etc., with the older forms in हि, as मोहि, तोहि, ताहि, याहि, वाहि,

show the ordinary oblique of the noun, produced by a general fusion of all the oblique cases of the old inflectional system; while the plural oblique in न arises from the Skr. genitive आनां, Pr. आणं. Sindhi, however, has its singular oblique in न, and thus differs from all the other languages. This seems to derive its origin from the Apabhraṅśa forms of the singular oblique इण and इणं mentioned above.

In practice, no distinction is observed between these two forms of the demonstrative and that of the third person, the demonstratives having to a great extent usurped the place of the latter, and being freely used to signify "he."

To trace the steps by which the various languages have arrived at each of the slight modifications of the general type by which they are distinguished, is a task impossible in the present stage of the inquiry. Much might, doubtless, be accounted for by the phonetic tendencies of each language, but this would not be sufficient to explain the whole. In the absence of a continuous chain of literary monuments which could be trusted to reflect faithfully the actually current speech of their respective periods, it is beyond the power of any scholar, however laborious, to work out all the steps of the problem. Experience has taught us that in India literature is never a faithful reflector of popular speech; and all that can now be done is to point out that one uniform type underlies the whole range of forms in the whole seven languages, and that this type can be traced back to the earliest stage of Aryan speech; while, at the same time, nothing more than the general type, the two leading ideas of *i* for the near, *a* and *u* for the far, demonstrative, can be with certainty identified.

§ 69. The relative pronoun meaning "he or she who," "that which," and requiring a correlative or answering word in the second clause of the sentence, is indicated in Sanskrit

by the type य, which in Prakrit, followed by the modern languages, becomes ज. The scheme in the seven languages is this:—

	NOM. SING.	OBL. SING.	NOM. PL.	OBL. PL.
Hindi	जो	जिस	जे	जिन.
Panjabi	जो	जिस, जिह	जो	जिनां, जिन्हां.
Sindhi	जो *m.*, जा *f.*	जँहिं	जे	जनि, जिनि.
Gujarati	जे	जे	जेओ	जेओ.
Marathi	जो *m.*, जी *f.*, जें *n.*	ज्या *m.*, जि *f.*	जे *m.*, ज्या *f.*, जीं *n.*	ज्यां.
Oriya	जेउं, जे	जाहा	जेमाने	जाहां.
Bengali	जे	जाहा	जे	जाँहा.

Hindi has also जौन, Pr. जो उण, which is, like तौन, produced by the incorporation of पुनः. From this source, also, springs O. जेउं, in Old-Oriya sometimes written जेङु, where the guttural nasal ङ is the first step in the weakening of ण to anunâsika. The relative portion of this compound word takes in O., as it does also when uncompounded in O. B. and G., the Magadhi nom. sing. form जे, which makes it identical in form with the nom. pl. The oblique forms in all the languages are from the genitive sing. Skr. यस्य, Pr. जस्स, with weakening of the vowel, and Skr. gen. pl. यानां (instead of the classical Skr. येषां, which has not been preserved), Pr. जाणं. Old-Hindi has its oblique singular जिहि, which is more modern in type than the Modern-H. जिस; this latter, however, was probably in use contemporaneously with जिहि, as we have in Chand forms जस and जास. The plural in Chand takes an emphatic addition, and is जिनै; but this seems to be restricted to the instrumental. Bengali takes this plural in the shape of जिनि, and makes it into an honorific singular nominative.

§ 70. The correlative is based on the Skr. स: and is the same as the pronoun of the third person mentioned in § 67. Many of the forms were given in that section, and all the others may be made on the model of जो by substituting त for ज. Nothing further need be said about it, as it is precisely homogeneous to the relative.

Occasionally an emphatic form of these two pronouns is used formed in H. by adding ही or हि, as सोही, जोही, but in Sindhi only ई is added. It will be observed that, of all the languages, S. and M. alone treat these two pronouns as pure adjectives, and give them the distinctions of gender. S. सो *m.*, सा *f.*, but in pl. only से for both genders. M., with its customary redundance of forms, has all three genders for the nominatives of both numbers, but in the oblique singular only *m.* and *f.*, and in the oblique plural only one form for all three genders.

§ 71. The interrogative pronoun is just as uniform as all the others: the only difference is, that forms which, though they exist in the other pronouns, are in them kept rather in the background, here come to the fore, and displace in common speech the forms which correspond to those more frequently used in the others. Thus, in the relative and correlative, जो and सो are in Hindi the commoner, जौन and तौन the rarer forms; but in the interrogative, कौन is the ordinary form in modern use, while को is archaic, poetic and dialectic. The neuter, also, has a form of its own, whose origin ascends to a different Sanskrit word from को. The type of the interrogative is everywhere क, just as ज is of the relative. The table of forms is given, because, although exactly corresponding to that of the relative, yet the exhibition of the whole set helps the eye to make the comparison, and brings out more clearly the symmetry of the pronominal forms, which is a striking and beautiful feature of this group of languages.

	NOM. SING.	OBL. SING.	NOM. PL.	OBL. PL.
Hindi	कौन	किस	कौन	किन, किन्ह.
Panjabi	कौण	किस, किह	कौण	किनां, किन्हां.
Sindhi	कोड़ *n.*	कँहिं	—	कनि.
Gujarati	कोण, कञो *m.*, कई *f.*, कउं *n.*	के, को	कञा *m.*, कई *f.* कञां *n.*	के, को.
Marathi	कोण	कोणा	कोण	कोणां.
Oriya	केउं, के	काहा	केमाने	काहां.
Bengali	के	काहा	के	काँहा.

Sindhi has कोड़ only in the neuter; its plural nom. is not used; and in commoner use both in Sindhi and Panjabi is the form S. केरु *m.*, केर *f.*, P. केहडा *m.*, °ई *f.*, obl. केहडे, which is from Skr. कीदृश, Pr. केरिसो and later केरिहो, which in S. merely drops the ह; while in P. the र+ह have been moulded into ढ, and then again split into ह+ड. Old-Hindi preserves the symmetry by using nom. को, obl. किहि, as—

को किहि वंसहि ऊपज्यौ ॥

"Who (am I), from what race sprung?"—i. 147.

Here, again, comes in the Skr. gen. कस्य, Pr. कस्स, as in the relative. Gujarati has singularly introduced a hiatus, writing कञो instead of को: this seems to have arisen from a form कहो, which will be explained hereafter. The forms with पुनः added are here more widely used than in the other pronouns, perhaps because of the somewhat greater emphasis involved in asking a question. In all languages "who?" more often stands alone, almost like an interjection, than any other pronoun, and thus the Pr. उण, which has sunk into an enclitic, would be more frequently used with the interrogative.

The neuter stands alone in all but a few exceptional instances, and is as follows:

Old-H. कहा, oblique काहे. Modern-H. क्या, obl. काहे and किस; and the same in the plural.

P. की, किआ, obl. कास, काह.

S. कोॾ.

M. काय, obl. कश्या, कसा, pl. the same, but obl. कश्यां, with the usual anunâsika of plurals.

O. कण, कि. In Balasore किस (*kisŏ*).

B. कि, किसे.

The origin of all these forms is to be sought for in the Skr. किं, an old neuter. B. किसे, H. किस, P. कास, refer back to the genitive, which in Pr. is कस्स, sometimes also कीस. H. कहा is apparently a conflation of the oblique forms g. कह, abl. कंह, loc. कहिं, and क्या the ordinary modern form, from supplying the hiatus of a form कय्आ by य instead of ह, as in Gujarati. Prakrit has also an oblique काओ, whence Sindhi केहो by softening of *â* to *e*; from its retaining the *â* in the first syllable the Hindi oblique काहि exhibits a form which postulates a Prakrit काहहि.

Gujarati has an unique interrogative शो *m.*, शी *f.*, शुं *n.*, the only approach to which in the rest of the group is S. छा, used only as a neuter. Vans Taylor (p. 73) refers us back to the acknowledged alliance between श and क in the leading Aryan languages, as in Skr. श्वन्, Greek *κύων*. But it is important to observe that these greater phonetic laws work only in the sphere of the larger groups of the Indo-European family: within the limits of any one particular group, their working, if it exists at all, is very feeble and restricted. It is beyond a doubt that Sanskrit exhibits words containing श which are weaker forms of an older word with क, the stronger form of which has been preserved by the cognate languages. But when once the parent language of the Indian group has preserved and stereotyped a form in क, it is not found that its descendants modify this क

into ग्; an initial क stands firm for the most part, at least a change from it into ग् would be of too radical and wide a nature for the modern Indian languages, which do not deal in those vast organic changes which were at work in the infancy of the world. We must rather look for the origin of this form by the light of changes of such a nature as are prevalent within the restricted limits of our group, instead of hunting up all possible modifications in every country and age to which the Aryan speech has penetrated. If we can with difficulty find a single dubious instance of the change from क to च, so frequent in Sanskrit, among its descendants, we should hardly be justified in going further back still to search for a change, which is in point of time prior to Sanskrit itself.

The origin of ग्यो is to be found in the earlier form कग्युं, a neuter signifying "what," from which have been constructed a masculine and feminine कग्यो and कग्यी, which are also used as an indefinite pronoun, and, as will be seen presently, the only form in use for the oblique plural of the indefinite is कग्या. This form would lead us back to Pr. कारिसो, Skr. कीदृश, from which, as we have seen above, Sindhi and Panjabi draw their interrogative. कारिसो becomes in H. कैसा, and in Old-Hindi the forms are कइसा and कसा, the latter produced by elision of the short *i*. With this last-named form our Old-Gujarati कग्युं is identical, for ग् is not in this language necessarily the palatal sibilant, but rather the distinction between it and स having been obliterated, and only one sibilant *sound* remaining, the letter used to express that sound is sometimes स, and sometimes ग्, according to the habit or caprice of the scribe; so that we might here also compare the oblique in M. कसा or कग्या, instead of treating it as from a Skr. gen. कस्य, Pr. कस्स, which would not account for the final long *á*. Sindhi छा is probably also of like origin, छ being often interchanged with स in all the modern languages; or कसा might also have lost the *a* of its first syllable, and become चा, whence the transition to छा is in accordance with the usual law,

It is more probable, however, that both in S. and G. there has been loss of initial क, as it is not in harmony with the general phonetic laws of this group to suppose the creation of क्ष from क+स at so late a date as we must assume, to bring it posterior in point of time to the tenth-century कसा.

It may here also be noticed in passing that the derivation of the forms कौन, जौन, etc., from को जन, जो जन, suggested by Taylor, is erroneous. These forms are written in the earlier stages of Hindi कवन and कउन, where the labial vowel and semivowel are indicative of the उ of पुनः. The compound phrase को उण is not a conjecture, but is constantly found in Prakrit (Lassen, § 32).

§ 72. The indefinite pronoun deviates from the homogeneous type of the other pronouns, and this deviation is explained by its origin. The forms may be given first, and analyzed afterwards. The typical letter is क, as in the interrogative; and the neuter, as in that pronoun, stands apart from the masculine and feminine. The word now given means "any one."

	NOM. SING.	OBL. SING.	NOM. PL.	OBL. PL.
Hindi	कोई	किसी	कोई, कई	किन्हीं.
Panjabi	कोई	किसे, किसी	केई	किन्हां.
Sindhi	को *m.*, का *f.*, कोई *m.*, काई *f.*	कँहिं	के	कंनि,
Gujarati	कोइ	कोइ	कंइ	कश्ना.
Marathi	कोणी, कोएही	कोणा, कोएहा	कोणी	कोएहां.
Oriya	केउणसि, कौणसि, केहि	काहारि	—	—
Bengali	केह	काहा	—	—

These forms arise from the compound Skr. कोऽपि (को अपि); the enclitic particle अपि in Prakrit slides into composition with the pronoun, and is written in one word कोवि, from which, by

elision of the व, come the H. P. S. and G. forms. S. often, however, rejects the final ई, which is lengthened in the other languages to preserve it, and because it is emphatic. M. has merely added the emphatic particle हि, with इ lengthened to ई and the ह frequently dropped, to the modern form of the interrogative, so that we have a compound of three parts, को + उण + हि. In Oriya, the final syllable सि appears to be shortened from the demonstrative से; so that here, also, there is a triple compound के + उण + से, literally "who forsooth is he?" O. केहि and B. केह are allied, and simply add हि, which may either be the emphatic particle of Skr., or more probably the ह was inserted to prevent hiatus after dropping the व of केवि (for कोवि).

Old-Hindi has कोऊ and oblique काहु, where the व or व of कोवि has softened to the labial vowel, and the final short *i* has been dropped, as is usual in Hindi. The oblique forms किसि or किसी show the oblique of the interrogative with the ई, whose origin has been forgotten, so that it is regarded as a mere emphatic particle. Marathi कोएहा arises apparently from the fact that *á* is regarded as the general type of the oblique, and has been added without reflection. In ordinary current speech it is customary to add एक "one" to this pronoun, so that they say कोएहा एकाचा "of some one;" and the same practice prevails in the nom. pl. of H.; thus कइ एक or केएक *some* "aliqui, aliquæ." The Oriya काहारि is a curious instance of how these forms arise: काहार is the genitive of the interrogative, and by adding the emphatic इ or हि to it we get काहारहि or काहारि, which should be used as a genitive only, so that the oblique would be काहाइ; but the genitive form has been extended to all the cases, and they now say काहारि कु "to some one," काहारि ठारु "from some one," and so on.

The plurals of this pronoun are seldom used in most of the languages, and in B. and O. there are no plurals at all, the singular doing duty for them.

The neuter form "something" is expressed as follows:

Old-H. कछू, Modern-H. कुछ; oblique, Old-H. काह, Mod.-H. किसू, but the oblique form is rarely used colloquially.

P. कुछ, rarely if ever inflected.

S. को, not inflected at all.

G. कंइ
M. कांहीं
O. किछि
B. किछु
} do.

H. P. O. and B. have a common origin from the Skr. किंचित्, the final त् of which is dropped in Prakrit किंचि. The archaic and poetical H. कछू seems to point back to a form in which the enclitic चित् had been affixed to a neuter कत्, instead of किं, thus making कचित्; from कछू, the *u* has leapt backward into the first syllable, making the modern कुछ. The change from च to छ is hardly to be accounted for by absorption of the anuswâra, and must remain unexplained. The three western languages, S. G. and M., do not seem to have any connexion with किंचित्; but the last two use oblique forms of the masculine indefinite, and the first merely a lengthened form of किं with loss of the anuswâra.

§ 73. The reciprocal or reflexive pronoun "self" is in most of the languages a derivative of the Skr. आत्मा "soul, self." As a substantive it means "self," and as an adjective "own." The former is

H. आप्, P. आप्, S. पाण, G. आप, M. आपण, O. आपे, आपण, B. आपनि.

The principle of phonetic change which lies at the root of these modern forms was indicated in Vol. I. p. 330. The process began in Prakrit, as we have अप्पा, आपा, side by side

with अत्ता, etc. This latter form has not been adopted by the moderns.

Hindi, followed by P. and G., uses the simple nominative, rejecting one of the two consonants, and lengthening the preceding vowel in accordance with the regular practice in the treatment of the nexus. B., as in इनि, उनि, जिनि, etc., has made for itself a nom. singular out of a plural form. The other languages retain a final ण or न, which rests on the Pr. form अप्पाण (Var. v. 45), which by his next following sûtra Vararuchi extends to all other Sanskrit nouns in न्, as युवन् = जुवाण, etc. Sindhi adheres most closely to the Prakrit, merely rejecting the first syllable; but the other languages, while they retain the initial अ, lengthen it to आ, and shorten the second syllable. I am disposed to think that this alteration of quantity is only apparent, and that the forms आपण, etc., are really derived from the oblique cases of the Pr. singular, as instrumental अप्पणा, gen. अप्पणो. It is observable in the modern Romance languages that where the type of the oblique differs from that of the nom., the modern language adopts the former for all cases; thus we see in Italian *monte*, where the Latin nom. is *mons*, and the *t* occurs only in the oblique cases. The latter being used five times to the one of the nominative, naturally acquires the predominance in the vulgar usage.

आप is declined with the usual case-affixes का, को, etc., in Hindi, when used as an honorific substitute for the pronoun of the second person, so also in P. and the other languages; but it has a special genitive used adjectivally and with a possessive sense, meaning "my, thy, his own," according to the person in which it is used. This therefore becomes almost a separate pronoun, and has the following forms:

H. अपना *m.*, अपनी *f.*, अपने obl. sing., अपनों obl. pl. (raro आपना, etc.).

P. आपणा, °णी, °णे, °णीआं.

S. पांहुँ जो, जी, etc.

G. आपणो, °णी, °णुं, etc.

M. आपला, °ली, °लें, etc.

O. आपणार् (rare, निजर् is usual).

B. आपन्.

These forms are derived from the Prakrit genitive, which is आपणो, and the endings for gender and case seem to have been necessitated by the use of the word as an adjective. Hindi goes a step further, and uses the oblique form, just as though it were the regular oblique of an adjective using अपने को, or more frequently अपने तईं = seipsum; अपने में and अपने पर may also be heard in conversation, as in the phrases अपने में यों सोचा "he thought thus in himself," आपने पर काम लिया "he took the business on himself," अपनों से परामर्ष करो "take counsel with your own (friends)." These forms, though common in the eastern Hindi area, might perhaps be set down as ungrammatical by authorities on the language, these gentry being apt to be capricious and fastidious, and prone to brand as wrong any phrases which they do not use themselves.

There is also a curious word आपस allied to this stem, and used in H. P. and O. always with the affix of the locative, as H. आपस में, O. आपसरे "among our-, your-, them-selves," as आपस में वांटो "divide it among yourselves." No origin for this form can be found in any of the Prakrits, nor can the form itself be considered as a locative apart from the case-affix. It is the case-affix which contains the locative idea, and when we remember that में is from मध्ये "in the midst," we shall see that the complement of the idea involved in the whole phrase is a genitive "in the midst *of* selves." I therefore hazard the conjecture that this form is like इस, उस, जिस, and the rest, a genitive irregularly formed from a vulgar Prakrit आपस्स, which would postulate a Skr. आत्मस्य. Now though no such form exists, or ever did exist, yet we have seen in the case of the noun, that the varied inflections of the numerous Sanskrit

nominal bases have all been rejected, and the declension of the *a*-stem taken by the moderns as the type of all nouns; it would not therefore be at all out of keeping with analogy, but rather much in keeping with it, for the modern languages to have in this instance also taken no heed of the peculiar forms of the declension of आत्मन्, but to have treated it like an ordinary noun of the *a*-stem, and made a genitive in स्स, as in all the parallel cases. In my own mind there is not the shadow of a doubt that this is really what has happened, and this form may be set down as one more illustration of the admitted fact that a type in common use is often extended to all classes, superseding entirely the minor types, and securing simplicity and uniformity in the place of a multitude of divergent forms.

§ 74. Although the pronouns, other than personal, above enumerated, are all, to a certain extent, adjectival, yet in several of the languages they have lost those variations for gender which mark the true adjective; H. जो, for instance, is used both with masc. and fem. nouns, only in M. and S. are they treated as adjectives with separate gender forms. There are, however, certain pronouns which are adjectival in all the languages, and exhibit in their initial letters the types of all the above classes. They express quantity and quality, considered demonstratively, interrogatively, relatively, and so on. As a type of them, the interrogative is here given, the whole series being exhibited in full in a future section.

	"How much?" *quantus?*	"Of what kind?" *qualis?*
Hindi	कितना, °नी	कैसा, °सी.
Panjabi	कितना, °नी	किहा, केहा, °ही.
Sindhi	केतिरो, °री	किहडो, °डी.
Gujarati	केटलो, °ली, °लुं	केवो, °वी, °वुं.

Marathi कितका, °को, °कें कसा, °सी, °सें.

Marwari कितरो, °री किस्यो, °स्यो.

O. and B. having lost all gender, do not inflect the adjective; they use the following: O. केते "how much," B. कत. The former series, that indicating quantity, is based upon Skr. कियन्त् (*m.*), कियती (*f.*), कियत् (*n.*), which in Pr. becomes केत्तिअ (Var. iv. 25), also केद्दह. The older Hindi form is केता, which is an immediate descendant of the Pr. form. Thus Chand—

केते नर रिष राई ॥ भए सुर दानव अगे ॥

"How many men and Rajârshis have there been, (and) gods and demons of you?"—i. 162.

The addition of the affix ना in Bengali indicates affirmation, and the affix seems to have been at first distinct; thus in Old-Bengali ना regularly follows कत (*kŏtŏ*), as in Bidyâpati:

कत ना जतने कत अद्भूत विहि वहि तोरे देल ॥

"With how much labour, how many wonders has fate brought to thee!"
—Pad. 1352.

कत ना जतने कत ना गोपसि हिमे गिरि ना लुकाय ॥

"With how much labour, how much soever thou coverest it, the snowy mountain will not be hidden."—Pad. *ib.*

In fact, in the eastern area and in Orissa न and ना are not negatives only, but affirmatives also, the sense depending on the sentence or on the tone of the voice; thus in Oṛiya:

मो घरकु जिबु ना जिबि

"Will you go to my house? Yes, I will go."

ना is probably in H. a diminutive (§ 24), and with this agrees the S. and the Marwari कितरो, where रो is also a diminutive ending, as is also the लो of G. केटलो, and so perhaps is का of the Marathi. This क is a common addition

to the pronouns of this series; thus we often hear in eastern H. कितेक, and in M. कितीक; it is, I think, erroneous to connect this क, as some grammarians do, with एक, supposing एक to be used as *unos, unas,* in Spanish, in the sense of "some." The ए appears to be the sign of the nom. pl., and does not belong to the affix, which latter consists simply of क, a longer form of which is कें, and a longer still करि, from which कै or कइ is made by omitting the र. Both forms occur with the pronoun कैसा in one passage of Chand—

जाकें देह न होय। ताहि कैसे कें गहिये॥

"Of whom there is no body, him *how* can one seize?"—i. 161.

And

जिहां दिष्ट न भिदै। ताहां कैसें करि सुझै॥

"Where sight does not pierce, there *how* can one see?"—*ib.*

कैसे कें and कैसे करि literally mean "what kind (of work) having done," and thus, too, कितेक would mean कितें करि "how many (works) having done." In the form कैएक "some," however, the latter element may be admitted to be एक, and it is often written as two words, especially in modern Urdu کَئی ایک.

The group कैसा, etc., comes from Pr. केरिसा, Skr. कीदृश, as has been already stated. P. and S., *more suo,* change स into ह, making केह and shortened किह, to which S. adds the diminutive ending डो. G. केवो appears to arise from the substitution of *v* for *h*, which is characteristic of the Rajput dialects of Hindi, from which G. sprung.[1]

There is another series meaning "how great" in some of the languages, which arises from a composition of the Pr. बडो (Skr. वृद्ध) or वडो "great." This is S. केडो; P. केडा,

[1] Dr. Bühler's welcome announcement of his discovery at Jesalmer of the *Vikramârka-charitam*, or Chronicle of the Châlukyas, leads us to hope that we shall now have some trustworthy data as to this interesting race, valuable for the early history of Gujarati.

केड; G. केवडो; M. केवढा; O. केडे (indeclinable). Thus Dinakrishna—

काम मदे तु होइ मत्त भोळा ॥
करु मझ ठारि या एडे हेळा ॥
कि तु जानु नाङ्ं ए जेडि सरु ॥
कुच जुगल तोर जेडे गुरु ॥

"Thou, drunk with the wine of love, forgetting
Art, thy waist how slight (it is).
What, knowest thou not how small it (is),
Thy twin breasts how heavy?"—Rasakallol. iii. 43.

Hindi does not possess this form, saying instead कितना वडा and the like. Sindhi here, also, uses a diminutive केडिड़ो meaning "how small?" a form which is not in use in the other languages. The whole of these series will be seen in their correspondence with the adverbs, the generic types running through the whole with admirable regularity.

§ 75. Sindhi allies itself to Persian and Pushtu by a practice foreign to its sister tongues of suffixing pronominal signs to nouns, pronouns, and verbs, a complicated and difficult system, from which the other languages are fortunately free. These suffixes are, according to Trumpp (p. 225)—

	SING.	PL.
1.	मि	ऊं or ह्यं.
2.	इ्	व.
3.	सि	नि or न.

Into the intricate changes rendered necessary by the addition of these suffixes in the terminating vowels of nouns, etc., it is not necessary here to enter. मि is undoubtedly the Pr. gen. मे, and is still sounded *me* in Pushtu, but *m* in Persian; इ् from Pr. ते by elision of त, so also the third person सि from से. In

the plural, ऊं or हं, which appears to be used only with pronouns, is by Trumpp referred to the Pr. form अम्हो (rather अम्ह), which, however, hardly accounts for the anunâsika: a more probable origin would be from अम्हाणं, reduced to अंहां, and thus to हौं and हं; the second person व recalls Pr. वो, and the third person नि from इणाणं, a Pr. gen. pl. of the base इन्, which we have already seen is substituted for that of the near demonstrative used as a third person.

The general rule for the method of adding these suffixes appears to be that the noun undergoes merely euphonic changes of its final vowel, but not constructive changes, and the discussion of them pertains rather to the study of the individual language than to that of comparative grammar. The Old-Hindi and Bengali, and to a certain extent also modern colloquial Oriya, exhibit the beginnings of a tendency to this system, which, happily for those who had to speak the languages, did not get beyond the first stage, namely, using the crude form of the personal pronouns, as in Chand's मो पित "my father," तो पाई "thy feet," and in Mod.-Oriya मो घर "my house." It wanted but the shortening of the vowel and the change of position to load us with forms like घरमु, पिततु, and the rest.

§ 76. Not only do the substantive and adjective pronouns run in perfectly analogous series, each distinguished by the typical initial consonant or vowel, but a long string of adverbs also follows this analogy. At the risk of a little repetition, it will probably be as well to group together, so that the eye can take them all in at a glance, the whole of these concurrent forms, in a series of tables.

I. The Near Demonstrative—type इ.

	HINDI.	PANJABI.	SINDHI.	GUJARATI.	MARATHI.	ORIYA.	BENGALI.
Pronoun, "this" . . .	इ, यह, यिह	इह	ई, ही	ए	हा	ए	ए
„ "of this kind" .	ऐसा	इहा, ऐसा	इहडो	एवो	असा	एमन्त	एमन्त
„ "this much" .	इतना	इतना	एतिरो	एटलो	इतका	एते	एत
„ "this big" . .	*deest*	ऐडा	एड़ो	एवडो	एवढा	एँडे	*deest*
Adverb of time, "now" .	अब	ऊण	हाणे, etc.	हेव	एह्वां	एबे	एखन
„ place, "here" .	इहां, यहां	इत्थे	इति	आंहीं	येथें	एठा	एखाने
„ motion, "hither"	इधर	*deest*	एड़े	आणिगम	इकडे	एठकु	—
„ manner, "thus"	यों, यूं	ऐडं	ईँअ	एम	असें	ए परि	एमन, हेन

II. The Far Demonstrative—type उ.

Pronoun, "that" . . .	उ, वह, वुह	उह	ऊ ह	आ	*deest*	*deest*	ओ
„ "of that kind" .	वैसा	*deest*	उहडो	आवो	„	„	*deest*
„ "that much" .	उतना	उतना	ओतिरो	आटलो	„	„	„
„ "that big" .	*deest*[1]	*deest*	ओडो	आवडो	„	„	„
Adverb, "then" . . .	„	„	*deest*		„	„	„
„ "there" . . .	वहां	उत्थे	उति	*deest*	„	„	ओखाने
„ "thither" . .	उधर	*deest*	ओड़े	„	„	„	*deest*
„ "thus" . . .	*deest*	„	ऊँअ	आम	„	„	„

[1] The places marked "deest" are so marked because the languages under which they occur use forms belonging to some other series; thus, for "then," H. uses the form तब् belonging to the correlative series, and has not the form उब्, which we should expect in the far demonstrative.

III. The Relative—type ज.

	HINDI.	PANJABI.	SINDHI.	GUJARATI.	MARATHI.	ORIYA.	BENGALI.
Pronoun, "whoever" . .	जो	जो	जो	जे	जो	जेउं, जे	जे
,, "of whatsoever kind"	जैसा	जिहा	जिहडो	जेवो	जसा	जेमन्त	जेमन्त
,, "how much soever"	जितना	जितना	जेतिरो	जेटलो	जितका	जेते	जत
,, "how big soever"	*deest*	जेडा	जेड़ो	जेवडो	जेवढा	जेडे	*deest*
Adverb, "whenever" . .	जब, जद	जद	जड़िहीं	जेवारे	जेह्वां	जेबे	जखन
,, "wherever" . .	जहां	जित्थे	जिति	जांहां	जेथें, जिथे	जेठा	जेखाने
,, "withersoever" .	जिधर	*deest*	जेड़े		जिकडे	जेठकु	*deest*
,, "howsoever" . .	ज्यों	जउं	जींअ	जेम	जसें	जे परि	जेमन

IV. The Correlative—type त.

(also used as demonstrative.)

Pronoun, "that"	सो, तो	सो	सो	ते	तो	से	से
,, "of that kind" .	तैसा[1]	तिहा	तिहडो	तेवो	तसा	सेमन्त	सेमन्त
,, "so much" . .	तितना[1]	तितना	तेतिरो	तेटलो	तितका	तेते	तत
,, "so big" . . .	*deest*	तेडा	तेड़ो	तेवडा	तेवढा	तेडे	*deest*
Adverb, "then"	तब, तद	तद	तडिहीं	तेवारे	तेह्वां	तेबे	तखन
,, "there"	तहां[1]	तित्थे[1]	तिति	तांहां	तेथें	सेठा	सेखाने
,, "thither" . . .	तिधर[1]	*deest*	तेड़े	तेणीगम	तिकडे	सेठकु	*deest*
,, "in that way" .	त्यों	तउं[1]	तींअ	तेम	तसें	से परि	तेमन

[1] Rarely used, and never except in the apodosis of a sentence which has the relative in its protasis.

V. The Interrogative—type क.

	HINDI.	PANJABI.	SINDHI.	GUJARATI.	MARATHI.	ORIYA.	BENGALI.
Pronoun, "who?" . . .	को, कौन	कौण	केरु, कोङ	कोण	कोण	केउं, के	के
,, "of what kind?"	कैसा	किहा	किहडो	केवो	कसा	केमन्त	केमन्त
,, "how much?" .	कितना	कितना	केतिरो	केटलो	कितका	केते	कत
,, "how big?" . .	*deest*	केडा	केडो	केवडो	केवढा	केडे	*deest*
Adverb, "when?" . . .	कब, कद्	कद्	कडिहीं	केवारे	केह्वां	केवे	कखन
,, "where?" . . .	कहां	कित्थे	किति	कांहां	केथे, कोठें	कोठा	कोथा
,, "whither?" . .	किधर	किद्धर	केडे		किकडे	कोठकु	*deest*
,, "how?". . . .	क्यूं	किक्कुर, कीउं	कींअ	केम	कसें	किपरि	केमन

The reader will see by casting his eyes down any one of the columns how perfectly symmetrical all the languages are; how H. has यहां, वहां, जहां, तहां, कहां, and इधर, उधर, जिधर, तिधर, किधर; Marathi एथें, जेथें, तेथें, केथें; and the same in all the other languages.

The adverbs will be explained in their proper place, and all the pronouns have been commented on above. The forms in use are often numerous, especially in Sindhi; thus the demonstratives ही and ह्य are pronounced ऐ and ऊ in Lar, or the coast district of Sindh. In Gujarati the adverb of time appears as केवारे, क्यारे, कारे, successive stages of shortening; and many other trifling dialectic variations occur; but in the above tables only one, and that the central or typical form, has been recorded, except in cases where two forms appear to be used with equal frequency, in which case both are given. Much of this redundance of form is doubtless due to the absence hitherto of any settled standard of spelling in all the languages. Native scholars have unfortunately set themselves to improve their mother-tongue by the resuscitation of Sanskrit words, instead of striving to fix the orthography of the words really in use among their contemporaries; and from this misdirected energy of theirs it has too often resulted that the language presents a disjointed heterogeneous aspect, certain parts of it, as the nouns and the nominal part of compound verbs, being highly refined classical Sanskrit; while other parts, as the inflectional and connecting particles, are rude in form and unsettled in orthography. This unfortunate practice, moreover, has misled such European scholars as have taken a cursory glance at the subject into supposing that the modern languages are far more closely allied to Sanskrit than they really are; and Bengali, which, from its phonesis and organic structure, is proved to be a very poor and rustic patois, has had so many "purpurei panni" sewn on to it, that it has been regarded as the eldest daughter of Sanskrit, which has preserved, with greater fidelity than its sisters, the family type.

It is in truth one of the youngest grand-daughters; and an examination of its essential features shows that it has wandered further from the original forms than any of the allied speeches.

§ 77. Besides the pronouns which have been arranged in classes above, there are certain miscellaneous pronouns which it is difficult to classify exactly under any of the heads which have preceded. Such is S. **सभु** "all," which is declined throughout, so is G. **सरवे**, while in the other languages it is indeclinable, as H. **सब**, P. **सभ**, O. **सबु**, B. **सब**. Traces remain of this pronoun having been inflected in Old-H. **सब्बि**, which seems to be a reproduction of Skr. **सर्वे**. S. has also an emphatic form **सभोई** "every one," also compounds **सभुको** and **सभुकोई**. These two latter are treated as compounds in S., but their equivalents are written as two distinct words in the other languages. In S. it is necessary to regard them as compounds, because **सभु** being capable of inflection, if it were written as a separate word it would have to be inflected also. Unique, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is the curious S. adjectival pronoun **मिड़ोई**, or **मिड़्योई** *m.*, **मिड़ाई** *f.*, meaning "every," which seems to have come from Skr. **मर्त्य**, originally of course meaning "mortal," but subsequently shading off into the meaning of human beings in general, just as Latin *homo* has become French *on*, or as in German *man* has lost its distinctive meaning, and now implies merely "they," "people in general," and the like. **मर्त्य** would become **मट्यो**, and by further softening, aided by the fondness of Sindhi for the *i*-sound, it would successively be **मड्यो** and **मिड्यो**. The **ई** is merely the emphatic increment, as is shown by the fact of the inflection taking place in the syllable which precedes it as it does in **सभोई** also, thus:—

Nom. sing. masc. { **सभोई** / **मिड़्योई** } Nom. sing. fem. { **सभा ई.** / **मिड़्या ई.** }

Obl. sing. masc.	सभे ई मिड़्ये ई	Obl. sing. fem.	सभाद् अ. मिड़्याद् अ.
Nom. pl. com.	सभे ई or सभ ई. मिड़्ये ई or मिड़्य ई.		
Obl. pl. com.	सभिनी (= सभिनि + ई). मिड़िनी (= मिड़िनि + ई).		

The ablative plural shows the form of the synthetic abl. in **आं**, with the emphatic **ई** added, thus **सभिनांई**. Only the obl. sing. fem. seems to show some divergence. The feminine of an adjective in *o* generally ends in *í*, and its formative or oblique in *ia*, as **रूखो** "dry" (*m.*), **रूखी** (*f.*), obl. fem. **रूखिअ**. What appears to have happened is, that the type of the oblique *ia* has been added to the irregular feminine in *á*, and the emphatic *í* altogether omitted.

In **सभुको** a double inflection occurs; thus fem. **सभका**, where **सभ** is fem. of **सभु**, and **का** fem. of **को**; but in the declension no further change takes place in the termination of the first number of the compound, which remains **सभ** throughout.

Although **सब** is in the languages where it occurs indeclinable, yet H. P. and G. have a declinable adjective from **सर्व**, which takes the form *m.* **सारा**, *f.* **सारी**, obl. **सारे**, and like S. **सभु**, means "the whole." P. declines **सभ** in the oblique, as **सभनां**, **सभनीं**; the latter is an instrumental, but is used as an oblique with the objective affix **ताईं** in the first line of Bhai Mihr Singh's "Panjâb dâ Roshan Kissâ."[1]

सचा साईं सभनीं ताईं कुदरति जिस खिलारी ॥

"The true God who has spread out his power for all."

Similarly Panjabi makes a declinable word out of the indeclinable H. **और** "other," also used as a conjunction "and."

[1] This work was written for me by the author, and is in the purest Panjabi of Gujrat, a town in the most fertile portion of the Panjab, near the banks of the Chenab. The MS. is in my possession, and has never been edited or printed.

This is in Old-H. अर्, and sometimes अनु, which betrays its origin from the Skr. preposition अनु. In P. होर means "other," and it is declined in the oblique pl. होरां "others," and होरनां. It has also an indeclinable form होरस, which is analogous to आपस, and has the genitive case-ending irregularly tacked on to it. In such forms as सभनां and होरनां, an irregular न has been inserted between the stem and the termination. This is probably due to the tenacity with which all pronouns retain archaic forms; the nom. pl. of the old declension would have been सभनि, होरनि, and in adding the plural oblique (*i.e.* Prakrit gen. pl. आण) ending, which is आं, it has been forgotten that the न of सभनि is an inflection, and a new plural base सभन has thus been formed, to which the oblique has been added. The same process has operated in H. अपनों, where the न of अपना has similarly been incorporated into the stem. In all languages of the Indo-European family such eccentricities are found in the pronoun, and had their origin at that stage of the progress of language when the old synthetical forms were breaking down and becoming confused, and before altogether disappearing, were being used in a way which would have broken the heart of Cicero to hear. Precisely similar to such forms as सभनां is the French "leurs;" the Latin genitive masc. *illorum* becomes "leur"="their," and like the modern Indian genitives, has become an adjective, and, as such, has been supplied with the plural sign *s*, which comes from *os*, the termination of the Latin accusative, so that "leurs" would be translated back into *illorumos!* just as सभनां contains the elements of Skr. सर्वाणि + आनां. So also Italians, forgetting that *loro*=*illorum* is already a genitive, prefix to it the genitive preposition, and say *di loro*="of them," as also *da loro*, "from them," and *con loro*, "with them," as if a Roman should have said *de illorum, de ab illorum, cum illorum*. Thus language plays sad tricks with ancient forms, whose meaning has ceased to be felt or understood. Not less eccentrically Hindi says

आपस में "among themselves," as if there had existed a Sanskrit phrase आत्मस्य मध्ये. Priscian in the one country, and Panini in the other, had, fortunately for their peace of mind, passed away before such processes were invented. Panjabi uses a genitive case-affix with आपस, and makes आपस दा, and an objective आपस नुं, also an ablative आपस ते. When a form—whether derived from a nominative or from an oblique form—in Prakrit had once established itself in the mind of the horny-handed Panjabi peasant, he, knowing nothing about direct or oblique forms, treated it as a stem, and added the usual case-endings to it. So true is it that man is not the master of language, but merely the instrument by which the processes of speech develope themselves according to natural laws. Man in fact makes nothing; nature makes, and man merely places materials in such a position that the forces of nature can work on them. Man collects the wood, applies the fire, and sets the pot on it; but the forces of nature thus brought together boil the water in the pot. So man utters sounds by means of his vocal organs, but nature controls the form which his utterances shall take; and man unconsciously works out great and deep-reaching developments of speech far beyond his cognizance or comprehension.

Compound pronouns are in common use, but they present no remarkable features. The laws of their composition may be studied in the grammars of the several dialects, but do not come within the scope of a work which deals with structure only, because structurally they have nothing to be explained beyond what has already been stated when treating of them separately.

Gujarati has two pronouns peculiar to itself. One is पोते, pl. "self or selves," obl. पोता, the origin of which is by Taylor (p. 73) correctly referred to the Skr. स्वतः; the व of स्व being hardened to प and the स dropped, the visarga becomes ओ, and the ablative affix तस्, having lost its special signification, has been applied to all the cases of the pronoun. The word seems

to have been formed in two halves, as it were: स्व: becoming separately स्यो and पो, and the affix तस् becoming separately ते. The word when first compounded must have been used adverbially, "by themselves" or "of itself;" and then, through the common custom of forgetfulness of its origin, the compound has been treated as a nom. pl., and regularly inflected. A regular form पोत is still in use, but as a distributive, and with the full form पोता added to it; thus तेओ पोत पोताने घेर गया "they went each to his own house," literally, "they his own, their own, house went."

The other pronoun is पेलो, a remote demonstrative "that," which is also written पेहेलो. The origin of this word is uncertain. पेहेलो means "first," but I think this is a different word from पेलो. After *e* the Gujaratis often insert in speaking an inorganic ह, so that the two words come to be alike. My own idea is that पेलो is shortened from पद्दलो, and that again from परिलो, a secondary formation from पर "distant," just as in Panjabi we have उरला "on this side," परला "on that side" (of a river, road, etc.), so that पेलो would literally mean "yonder," just as in the colloquial English of rural counties we hear "yond' man," or "yon man," for "that man," German *jener* = "that."

§ 78. The language of the Gipsies in various countries of Europe, though its vocabulary is a medley of words taken from the languages of all the lands in which this strange race has sojourned, is purely Aryan in its structure; and Modern-Aryan too, being in many respects quite as far removed from the old synthetical system as any of the seven languages now under discussion. In respect of the pronouns, other than personal, it preserves the traces of its origin very clearly. Thus we have the interrogative *kon* "who?" *káya* "what?" with its oblique *kas*, also *kalés*, pl. oblique *kalén*, and the indeclinable *ka* "which." In addition to this, they have a more definite interrogative *kavâ*,

which in sound and meaning is almost identical with G. केवो. It is singular that they have also the unique (so far as the Indian languages go) G. ग्रो, Gipsy *so*, from which comes an ablative *sostar*, which, when pronounced with the accent on the first syllable *sóstar*, means "why?" but with the accent on the last syllable *sostár*, "because," literally "from what." From this again comes a further interrogative *savo* "qualis?" parallel to *kavâ*. The Kashmiri, with which the language of the Gipsies is most generally in accord, here diverges from it, and the connexion is closer with Gujarati than with any other of the languages. Kashmiri has युस and कुस for "who?" or "what?" oblique *kas* as in Gipsy, but here, as far as the meagre information accessible enlightens us, the resemblance stops, and Kashmiri runs into its usual similarity with Panjabi.

The reflexive pronoun "self" is represented by forms derived from the stem अप्प, as masc. *po*, fem. *pi*, obl. *pe*. An older form, which Paspati (p. 71) says is rare in the present day, is *pinro* m., *pinri* f., *pinre* obl. Here we see आपण with the loss of its initial *â* and the old genitive affix *ro*, *ri*, *re*, shortened from *koro*. With this agrees the possessive of the two first personal pronouns *minro*, *-ri*, *-re*, "mine;" *tinro-*, *ri-*, *re*, "thine;" and plurals strikingly Indian *amaro*, *-ri*, *-re*, "our;" *tumaro*, *-ri*, *-re*, "your." But the language still possesses the simple genitives *mo*, *to*, as in H. B. O. मो, तो, though it differs from H. in treating them as possessives, and consequently as adjectives, and inflects them for gender and case *mo* m., *mi* f., *me* obl.; so also *to*, *ti*, *te*. In addition to the reflexive *po*, *pi*, *pe*, it has also *pes*=आपस "each other."

Demonstratives are *aka* and *avaka* "this," *oka*, *ovoka*, "that," *akavka* and *okovka* "this here," "that there," which do not ally themselves very closely to the corresponding words in any of the Indian languages. Peculiar also are *kadava* m., *kadayá* f.; *kadalá* nom. pl. m., *kadale* f., "this," and *odova* "this." Perhaps we are here to suppose the operation of some influence other than Indian.

The demonstratives *aka* and *oka* form sets of parallel pronominal adverbs, just as do the demonstrative types of the Indian group. Thus we have *akaté okoté* "here and there," *akatar, okotar,* "hence," "thence." The latter of these corresponds in the manner of its formation to the Panjabi, which expresses "hence" and "thence" by adding the ablative of the old synthetic system under the form ओं to the words for "here" and "there" respectively, as इत्थे "here," इत्थों "from here," "hence," उत्थे "there," उत्थों "thence." In like manner, *tar* is the sign of the Gipsy ablative. Thus too M. has इकडे "hither," and the ablatival form इकडून "hence," so also तिकडे and तिकडून "thither" and "thence;" and the same method runs through all the languages, for which reason the words expressive of "motion from" have not been given in the lists above exhibited, as they are merely the ablatives of the words expressive of "rest at."

The only two authorities for the Gipsy, namely Paspati and Miklosich, which are procurable here, do not give a full series of pronouns and pronominal adverbs; and it may be conjectured that, in the rude speech of this people, they are not all to be found. Those noted, however, are in striking conformity with our Indian group.

§ 79. In concluding, amidst constant interruptions, this volume on the Noun and Pronoun, I have a few further remarks to make of a general character. Attention has already been directed in several parts of this volume to the varying nature of the seven languages in point of simplicity; but the geographical aspect of this question remains to be noticed. The most complicated of the seven languages are Marathi and Sindhi, and, as far as we know anything of it, Kashmiri. If Gujarati and Panjabi were as complicated as these three, then we might establish a regular gradation from east to west; for the Oṛiya and Bengali, the most eastern members of the group, are distinguished by

extreme simplicity; while the Hindi, the central language in position, is central also in this respect, being less simple than B. and O., less complicated than M. and S. It will be remembered that in the First Volume Hindi was noted as central in respect to its phonesis, leaning neither to the peculiarities of the extreme eastern dialects, such as a fondness for long vowels and the *u*-sound, nor to those of the western dialects, a predilection for short vowels and the *i*-sound. As regards the structure of the noun, the homogeneity of the western group is disturbed by P. and G. The former, with its structure only slightly less simple than Hindi, lies between the intricate Sindhi and the no less intricate Kashmiri; while the latter also, only a little more full than Hindi, intrudes between Sindhi and Marathi.

The comparatively simple structure of Panjabi, as compared with its neighbours to the north and south, is probably to be ascribed to the fact that the Panjab has been for numerous centuries the battle-ground of India, over whose plains have passed and fought Greek, Persian, Arab, Turkish, and Indian armies; from all, except perhaps the first, of whom the language has imbibed words and ideas, and has been led to reject much of its former complicated structure. Since the establishment of the Musulman on the throne of Delhi, it has been constantly ruled from the Hindi area, and so strong has been, and still is, the influence of Hindi, that the wonder is that anything should be left of a distinctly dialectic character. As it is, in the towns and more civilized portion of the country, Panjabi is fast disappearing, and will in all probability disappear entirely at no distant date.

The simplicity of Gujarati has been frequently explained in these pages by a reference to the fact that it is a dialect of Hindi, separated at an early, but not precisely assignable date, from the parent language, and thus retaining a certain amount of archaism.

§ 80. With regard to the two eastern languages, much remains for future research to make plain. In Orissa the traces of a large non-Aryan element in the population are patent to the most superficial observer, and the same may be said of Bengal; but unfortunately neither of these provinces has as yet been examined, either as to their language or ethnology, as thoroughly as could be desired. The Europeans resident in India are all busy men; no one of us comes here except to work, and as a rule to work very hard. The machinery of Government becomes more complex, and makes greater demands upon the time of members of the administration every year; so that those whose previous training would best qualify them for the task of investigation have as a rule the least leisure for it. It is not possible for scholars in Europe to conduct minute inquiries, because the materials they possess refer rather to ancient than modern India; and it is necessary that one should live in the country itself, and in daily communication with its people, in order fully to breathe the spirit of their customs and institutions, and so to get an insight into the nature of them, such as may indicate the most promising line of inquiry to follow. There are more materials for Orissa than for Bengal, because the former province was more isolated, more homogeneous, more bound up in itself, more a nation in short than Bengal for many centuries; and the records of the great idol-temple at Puri, together with others which are probably still to be found in various holes and corners of this most conservative of Indian provinces, will, when they can be got at and examined, probably yield a rich harvest of facts to the labourer in the departments of history and philology.

END OF VOL. II.

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